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ART IN  
ANCIENT ROME









PORTRAIT-STATUE OF A ROMAN LADY  
(Terme).

ARS UNA: SPECIES MILLE  
GENERAL HISTORY OF ART

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ART IN  
ANCIENT ROME

BY  
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VOLUME II  
FROM THE FLAVIAN DYNASTY TO JUSTINIAN, WITH  
CHAPTERS ON PAINTING AND THE MINOR  
ARTS IN THE FIRST CENTURY, A.D.



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# ADDENDA ET ERRATA

## VOL. II

- Ch. XI, p. 17. For a better interpretation of the Villa Item paintings see Macchioro, *La Villa dei Misteri* (1926).
- P. 27. For the Rospigliosi paintings see G. Bendinelli in *Boll. d'Arte*, 1925, p. 147 ff.
- P. 29. For *Paquius Proculus* read *Terentius Neo* and see M. della Corte in *J.R.S.* xvi. 1926, p. 146.
- To Bibliography add Diepolder, H., in *Röm. Mitth.* 1926, p. 1 ff., and A. Ippel, *Pompei*, 1925.
- Ch. XII, p. 46. For the cameo by Tryphon see Furtwängler, *Arch. Jahrbuch*, IV (1889), p. 58 f., and *die Antiken Gemmen*, II, p. 260, I. Pl. 57, No. 11.
- Ch. XIII, p. 70. Bibliography, l. 4. For *La Trophée Farnese* read *Les Trophées Farnese*.
- Ch. XV, p. 96, under Fig. 379. For *Conservatori* read *Capitol*.
- Ch. XVI, p. 112. Cf. the newly acquired relief in the B.M. of Aeneas, Ascanius and the Laurentine Sow (*B.M. Quarterly*, 1928).
- To Bibliography, p. 138, add Rodenwaldt in *Röm. Mitth.*, 1917, p. 1 ff. (paintings from Tomb of Nasonii in B.M.).
- Ch. XVII, p. 158, under Fig. 497 add Naples; p. 162, Figs. 509, 510; the present whereabouts of both cameos seems unknown.—P. 164, l. 2, for the Arezzo portrait see now C. Albizzati, *Studi di Archeol-Romance* Bologna (1928), p. 23 f.
- Ch. XIX, p. 194, "men of consular rank: Wilpert, however, in a recent art of the N. Boll. di Archeol, Crist, points out that the consular garment worn by the figures is exactly the same as on the diptych of Anicius Felix cos. in 423, and the statues accordingly to the first half of the fifth century. On the art of this late period see now C. Albizzati op. cit. p. 27 ff.







FIG 249.—SCENE OF INITIATION KNOWN AS "ALDOBRANDINI MARRIAGE."  
(Vatican.)

## CHAPTER XI

### PAINTING

§ 1. *Sources*.—Practically all surviving specimens of Græco-Roman painting have been found in Campania at Pompeii or Herculaneum, and in Rome itself. These sites alone have yielded examples of ancient *pictura* in quantities sufficient for a reconstruction of the art which then as now made a more direct appeal than either architecture or sculpture to the taste of the public.

Owing to the perishable nature of the material and its consequent less perfect preservation, it is more difficult to study its earlier Italic stages than those of the contemporary arts. The Etruscan, the Etrusco-Latin, the Oscan schools, of all of which something has been said, developed on a Greek basis though absorbing strong Italic traits, and a school of painting seems to have flourished in Rome from the second century B.C. onward. Our knowledge of both painting and mosaic in the last century of the Republic should be materially increased by the discoveries made by the late Giacomo Boni on the Palatine as far back as 1911. Unfortunately none of these are as yet published.

§ 2. *Character of Roman Painting—Mural Decoration*.—At the outset it is well to be clear as to what the Romans demanded from painting. Practically all known Roman painting is mural; this confers upon it a very special character, for being intended as wall decoration its primary function is architectural rather than pictorial. Subjects, patterns, colour are all subordinated to the divisions of the wall space, which was completely covered from floor to ceiling. This

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system of decoration was rendered possible by the simplicity of Roman furniture, which was of light, portable character and not intended to be placed stiffly against walls. Landscapes and figure subjects were introduced in profusion into wall-painting, but always in relation to the surface to be decorated. Th. Birt acutely remarks that to hang framed pictures from cords and nails as we do would have struck an ancient Greek or Roman as illogical and inorganic, and it would probably never have entered his head to destroy the unity of the wall surface in this barbarous fashion. Easel pictures existed, but they were mostly treated as panels inserted into the walls precisely as were the marble panel reliefs so much in fashion during the Empire. We hear, for instance, of small pictures inserted into the "hottest chamber" of the Baths of Agrippa, which had to be removed and repaired. Pictures might also be framed and shuttered and placed upon shelves or ledges; an arrangement often seen imitated in wall-paintings, as in Room 13 of the "Villa of the Mysteries" at Pompeii.

§ 3. *Classification of the Styles*.—The large number of Pompeian wall-paintings discovered in houses that can be approximately dated, with the help of a passage in Vitruvius (vii. 5), to a classification into four periods according to their systems of decoration. This classification, though others have from time to time been substituted in its place is so generally adopted that we retain it here for convenience. These four periods are: (1) the Incrustation style, of the second century B.C.; (2) the Architectural style, corresponding roughly to the first century, B.C. and lasting into the Julio-Claudian period; (3) the Ornate, overlapping the second style and lasting from about the middle of the principate of Augustus to the earthquake of A.D. 63; (4) the Fantastic, or Intricate, from the earthquake of 63 to the final destruction of Pompeii in 79.

§ 4. *The First or Incrustation Style*.—In the first or Incrustation style the revetting of walls with white marble, or their veneering with panels of precious marble, to the exclusion of pictures, a fashion much in vogue in the Hellenistic East, was imitated in paint. The fashion of marble revetting had been introduced into Rome under the Republic, when we hear of one Mamurra, a rich knight and an officer of Cæsar, who decorated his house on the Cælian in this style (Pliny, *N.H.*, 36, 48). This custom of covering walls with coloured marbles was well known to the later Renaissance, and the Cibo chapel at S. Maria del Popolo in Rome probably affords as good an example as any of the effect which this Pompeian style of decoration sought to produce. Fig. 250—from the so-called house of Sallust at Pompeii—shows how it was imitated in mural painting. The same



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style was practised likewise outside Italy as at Delos (Fig. 251), and in Rome there is a striking example of this style in the Republican house under the *lararium*



FIG. 250.—FIRST STYLE FROM HOUSE OF SALLUST, POMPEII.

(Cliché Hachette, after Mau.)

of the later Flavian Palace. As there was no room here for pictures, we may pass on to the second or architectural style into which landscape is often introduced with great effect.

§ 5. *The Second or Architectural Style—The Odyssey Landscapes.*—In this period, which extends from about the year 70 B.C. to the end of the reign of Augustus, the object is to break up the wall-surface by a number of architectural features so composed as to produce the illusion of extra space. First a dark line painted along the bottom of the wall was made to appear as a continuation of the floor; above this line was painted a podium or socle supporting the wall, above which ran a frieze. Openings are next imitated, first in the frieze, then in the panels, to disclose whole landscapes, enlivened more often than not by figures, and conceived of, not as panel-pictures, but as representing the open country outside the wall. Sometimes the place of the frieze was taken by a simulated clerestory disclosing a continuous vista. Not infrequently columns were painted in front of the wall, standing upon the podium; the idea being to turn the room into the semblance of a cloistered court, imagined as placed within a landscape seen through the openings in the outer wall. The devices are clever for the decoration of houses in a crowded city like Rome, where land was dear and courts and gardens few, and where neighbouring houses would spring up and

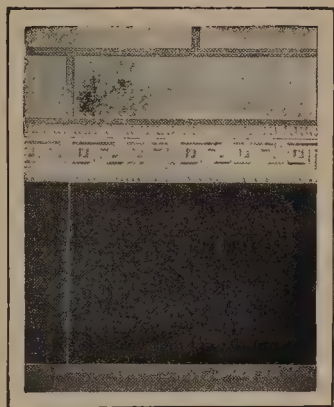


FIG. 251.—FIRST STYLE WALL-PAINTING AT DELOS.

(Monuments et Mémoires.)

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disagreeably block out the view.<sup>1</sup> Occasionally the space left above the wall merely disclosed the sky as in Fig. 252.

One of the simplest and most beautiful mural decorations of the so-called second style is afforded by the paintings of a room belonging to a house of late Republican date discovered about the middle of last century in the old Via Graziosa on the Esquiline, and removed to the Library of the Vatican. Here the upper part of the wall-surface is treated as a clerestory, between the pilasters of which we see a continuous landscape enlivened by scenes from the *Odyssey*. The adventures of Odysseus among the Læstrygones occupy three scenes; then comes the voyage to the island of Circe, followed by



FIG. 252.—SECOND STYLE, FROM A HOUSE IN POMPEII.  
(Cliché Hachette, after Mau.)

the central episode of the wanderer's arrival at the palace of the enchantress. These scenes are followed by others showing Odysseus at the mouth of the under-world, and the punishment of the damned. The series is now incomplete. The action of the personages is animated and life-like; dramatic situations are piquantly seized; and a deep but simple irony, truly Homeric in its directness, takes pleasure in contrasting within one scene the panic and flight of the ships with a peaceful seascape where the sea-nymphs sun themselves on the rocks, lovely and serene as though no human tragedy had ever darkened those smiling shores. The painter's interest in the story is proved by the inscriptions attached to the personages; yet the human feeling pales before the artist's joy in the rendering of landscape. With broad sweeps of the brush he has

<sup>1</sup> See Cicero *de Domo Sua*, ch. 44.

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evoked mountain ranges, down which rush Antiphates and his men; limpid pools wherein are mirrored the watering flocks; grey-green glades and pasture-lands, where dwell the shepherd Pan and the nymphs of the place; the waters of a summer sea, deepening from light green to darkest blue. In the first of the Læstrygonian pictures we see the stately figure of the daughter of the king coming to fill her pitcher in a rocky landscape; outside in a land-locked bay are the Greek ships, and above hover the wind gods (Fig. 253). In the next picture, the grandly-drawn figure of the herdsman, seen from the back as he moves inward into the picture, is used to emphasize the depth of the landscape, just as the whole scene of Odysseus at the mouth of the under-world, where the shades rush up to lap the blood, is subordinated to the magic illumination produced by the yellow Turneresque light that falls aslant through the mouth of the cavern on to the gibbering crowd of ghosts. The scenes may be Homeric, but they are Homer seen through modern eyes. The rôles of man and of nature have been reversed, and man, no longer the central element in nature, acts as a foil to the landscapes wherein he moves. So in modern times the Carracci and Salvator Rosa, Claude Lorraine and Gaspar Poussin peopled their landscapes with groups of figures and mythological scenes whose main function is to emphasize space-values. The predominant colours used are the green, violet and yellow which appear as far back as the fourth century B.C. on the sarcophagus of Alexander from Sidon.



FIG. 253.—ULYSSES IN THE LAND OF THE LÆSTRY-  
GONIANS, FROM A HOUSE ON THE ESQUILINE.  
(Vatican.)

§ 6. *The House near the Farnesina*.—Another series of paintings in the Museo delle Terme seems from the complex character of its architectural decorations to be somewhat later in date. It comes from the house discovered in 1882 beneath the garden of the Farnesina. The paintings of nine rooms are preserved almost in their entirety, and fresh excavation might yield more. From a gallery or cryptoporticus with a colonnade carried out in blue-green come certain decorations in the Egyptian style (H.A. 1467-1469). A white semi-circular corridor is adorned by a peristyle of slender

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columns supporting baroque Caryatids linked together by graceful festoons, and by a frieze of masks and musical instruments, alternating

with landscapes and seascapes treated with Dutch-like fidelity (H.A. 1464). The two bedrooms that follow, the one with red, the other with white walls, are amusingly decorated with gay pictures of love- and toilet-scenes or else scenes of divination (Fig. 254).

In a third bedroom, red like the first, a large vista-picture discloses a Diony-

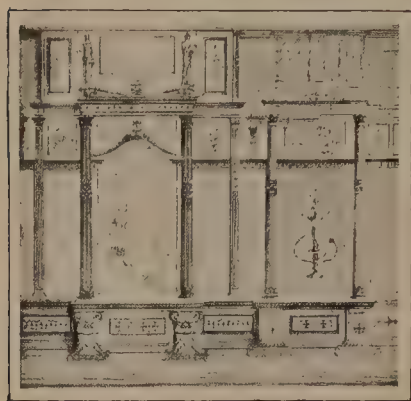


FIG. 254.—WALL-PAINTING FROM FARNESINA.  
(Terme.)

siac sanctuary: at its gate a Mænad is seated with the babe Dionysus, while two standing priestesses look on (Fig. 255). On another wall we have a panel-picture showing Aphrodite, Eros and an attendant, which like the other so-called panel-pictures in this house, seems a poor imitation of late Hellenistic painting (H.A. 1477-1479). The



FIG. 255.—THE SANCTUARY OF  
DIONYSOS. WALL-PAINTING.  
(Terme.)



FIG. 256.—WALL-PAINTING FROM FARNESINA.  
(Terme.)

most original mural paintings are in the last room. The walls are painted black, with a screen of dainty baroque columns united by delicate wreaths of plane foliage. Along the frieze are depicted a number of legendary scenes, carried out in a



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linear technique, with a vivid use of reds, yellows and greys. The wall-space below the wreaths is enlivened by city scenes and landscapes of finer execution than the frieze, drawn with a delicate yet sure touch difficult to match outside Japanese or Chinese drawings (Fig. 256). Finally, the stucco decorations from the barrel-vaulted ceilings that roofed over these rooms have also been recovered (H.A. 1327-1332). Here we find many of the same motives as in the panel-paintings. The pastoral scenes, with goats, or cattle drinking in a pond; the picturesque touches of landscape enlivened by women carrying pitchers on their heads, by fishermen angling in the mountain streams; the sacred precincts with trees showing over the walls, or pushing their branches through the tall gateways (Fig. 257); the pillars crowned with graceful vases; the terminal figures; the picturesque scenes of sacrifice, here at a Bacchic altar in presence of Silenus, there to a Priapus; the occasional intrusion of mythological subjects, as in the picture of the Hours getting ready for Phaethon the Chariot of the Sun: the graceful figures of Victory that stand on tip-toe with unfolded wings (Fig. 258)<sup>1</sup>: all these link this stucco work to the contemporary paintings, the mural terra-cotta slabs, and the marble "Hellenistic" reliefs. These stuccoed ceilings of the Villa Farnesina, every



FIG. 257.—STUCCOES FROM FARNESINA.  
(Terme.)



FIG. 258.—STUCCO FROM FARNESINA.  
(Terme.)

<sup>1</sup> The Victory motive is of extreme frequency in both sepulchral painting and stucco. Figs. 259 and 260 are good examples from columbaria, at Ny Carlsberg

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FIG. 259.—STUCCO FROM ROMAN COLUMBARIUM.  
(Ny Carlsberg.)

scene of which is capable of mystic interpretation, probably formed a connected religious sequence together with the wall-paintings of the same room.

The numerous Egyptian motives (sphinxes, gryphons, palm-trees, etc.) in the decoration of this house; its elegance, which marks it as that of a person of quality; its proximity to the gardens of Caesar in

the Trastevere, lend colour to the fascinating hypothesis that it is the house or pavilion built by Julius Caesar for Cleopatra. The Egyptian Queen, whose insolence "when she lived in her villa across the river" was so bitterly resented by Cicero (ad Att. XV. 15, 2), resided in Rome after the Alexandrian war

down to the year of Caesar's murder. The name Seleukos, scratched on the wall of one of the rooms, suggests that the artist was one of the many Syrian Greeks who began,



FIG. 260.—STUCCO FROM ROMAN COLUMBARIUM.  
(British Museum.)



FIG. 261.—STUCCO.  
(Naples.)

and in the British Museum respectively. Another stucco of the period, almost certainly from a tomb, shows a youth resting on his hoop and with right arm thrown over his head in the attitude symbolic of "divine repose" (Fig. 261).



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from the time of Pompey's Eastern victories onward, to crowd into Rome in search of work. It must likewise be admitted that many decorative motives—more especially the swags of foliage hung between columns, or held by Caryatids, are purely Augustan and may point to the house being of Augustan date.

§ 7. *The House of Augustus.*—A third house in the architectural style, with paintings fortunately left *in situ*, is the well-known House of Augustus on the Palatine (formerly known as the "House of Livia," who continued to live there after the Emperor's death). Of the three rooms which open

on to the court, the furthest on the left is the simplest; the lower part is painted to imitate a podium supporting walls panelled in imitation of marble incrustation, above which are winged figures sitting among fantastic scrolls, as on so many Hellenistic reliefs and their Roman imitations



FIG. 262.—WINGED FIGURES. FRIEZE FROM WALL-PAINTING IN HOUSE OF LIVIA.

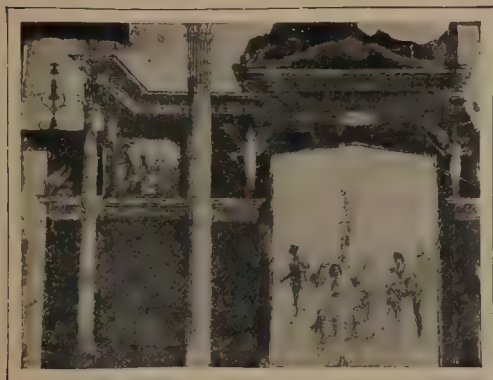


FIG. 263.—ARGUS AND IO. WALL-PAINTING IN "HOUSE OF LIVIA."

their Roman imitations (Fig. 262). In the middle room the main features of the decoration are the large vista-pictures in the centre of each wall; on the right a landscape forms the setting of a scene from the story of Argus and Io (Fig. 263); on the middle wall was once depicted a landscape of magical beauty (Fig. 264), now almost totally lost. Here amid the Sicilian rocks sports Galatea, mounted on a

sea-horse. She is darting through the waves to evade the uncouth lover who stands breast-deep in the water gazing at her from behind a rock, while a little Eros mounted on his left shoulder urges him forward in vain, for Polyphemus cannot swim. The intention to illustrate the Theocritan myth is obvious; yet those who know the

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picture feel that the sea-scape, with its depth of perspective and the light that once played upon the surface of the transparent blue, interested the artist more than the Galatea, who is merely transferred from one of the reliefs with sea-nymphs riding a sea-monster, or her companion, who is merely a weakened version of the "Anadyomene."



FIG. 264.—POLYPHEMUS AND GALATEA. WALL-PAINTING IN HOUSE OF LIVIA.

In this room the possibilities of the architectural style are carried to their utmost limit in the treatment of the left side of the right wall, where the opening is no mere window, but the wall itself comes to an end, and in the space between it and the corner we look straight into a street, with tall terraced houses and people walking about, or peering over terraces and balconies. We should note also the little triptychs with popular scenes of "home magic" similar to those we saw in one of the rooms of the Farnesina house. The third room with its white walls and garlands suspended between the yellow columns is a triumph of decoration

pended between the yellow (Fig. 265). The garland motive is clearly inspired by the Ara Pacis, or by a source common to both (cf. above, Fig. 252). From the garlands hang masks, flutes and other Dionysiac emblems; the frieze, which has been allowed to fade almost entirely on one side, displays a continuous landscape in which the artist, as a recent critic has well observed, has desired by means of the various figures of travellers on foot,



FIG. 265.—YELLOW FRIEZE AND SWAGS. HOUSE OF LIVIA.

on donkey or camel-back to produce the effect of pictures unfolded before the spectator much in the same way as a traveller might see

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them daily while on a long journey. The laws of perspective are so far observed as to let the people and buildings in the foreground appear larger by comparison with those of the background. On one of the best-preserved sections (Fig. 266) we see on a rocky eminence to the left, an altar with a torch leaning against it; below, a traveller hurries along between the rock on his left and a votive column supporting a thymiaterion on his right, towards a low square altar in the middle distance; from the right comes a man leading a heavily-laden camel. Behind this group and to the right again are a house and garden on a river-bank—a stock scene, we may note, of this style of landscape; below the house figures are seen stepping into a boat, and above, in the middle distance, other figures are crossing a bridge



FIG. 266.—YELLOW FRIEZE (DETAIL). HOUSE OF LIVIA.

that recalls the bridge on the Farnesina stuccoes (p. 7). The whole frieze is carried out in brown on a yellow background with a few touches of white for the high lights.

The yellow frieze has points in common with the landscapes from the columbarium at the Villa Doria-Pamphili, recently removed to the Museo delle Terme. Here also are continuous scenes with travellers and buildings in the "sacred-idyllic" style studied by Rostowzew, with sacred trees, herms, altars and other forms of rural shrine. These pictures, like the yellow frieze of the House of Livia, are examples of those landscapes "saturated with religion in a manner quite foreign to us" which Nilsson has recently described in his *History of Greek Religion*. "One could hardly have taken a step out of doors," he writes, "without meeting a little temple, a sacred enclosure, an image, a cult-pillar, a sacred tree." The custom of filling the countryside with rural shrines and altars was as common to Italy as to Greece. In the second century, for instance, Fronto, tutor to the children of



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Marcus Aurelius, writing to congratulate Lucius Verus on his recovery from illness, gives a delightful picture of the morning walk, in the course of which the kindly pedagogue stopped to render thanks at every shrine and altar he came across. It seems quite certain that this class of landscape is the one referred to by Pliny (xxxv. 116) in his account of Studius or Ludius, "a painter of the days of Augustus, who introduced a delightful style of decorating walls with representations of villas, harbours, landscape gardens, sacred groves, woods, hills, fishponds, straits, streams and shores, any scene, in short, that took the fancy. In these he introduced



FIG. 267.—WALL-PAINTING WITH VISTA INTO GROVE OF ARTEMIS. HOUSE OF LIVIA.

figures of people on foot, or in boats, and on land of people coming up to the country houses either on donkeys or in carriages, besides figures of fishers and fowlers, or of hunters or even of vintagers. Among his works we know well the men approaching a villa through a swamp, and staggering beneath the weight

upon their shoulders of the terrified woman whom they have bargained to carry over, with many other scenes of like vivacity and infinite humour. He also brought in the fashion of painting seaside towns on the walls of open galleries, producing a delightful effect at a very small cost." (Tr. K. Jex-Blake.)

On the right of the open court of the "House of Livia" is a fourth room, painted in Pompeian red, generally called the triclinium or dining-room; two openings in the wall afford glimpses into a sacred grove; on the shorter wall we see the now familiar columns tied with sashes and crowned by a vase; a parrot perches somewhat to the right; below, a goat drinks in a stream. The vista in the longer wall (Figs. 267 and 268) shows a tall *bætyl* or sacred stone within a semi-circular balustrade adorned by Egyptian-looking figures. The *bætyl* is tied with sashes; a boar's head and two stags' heads show that it is sacred to Artemis; on the right a parrot perches on a short column. A stepped one-arched bridge spans a stream in which

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ducks are swimming. Noteworthy also are the still-life pictures in this room, representing a variety of fruit in glass jars standing on the top of the wall.

§ 8. *Paintings in the second style in houses under the Domus Flavia.*—Not much later than the paintings of the House of Livia are those paintings in the large chamber of early first-century date, immediately below the basilica of the Flavian palace (p. 60). The originals are still partly *in situ* and may be conveniently made out with the help of copies in the Topham collection at Eton College. They include the shrines, pillars and sacred trees common to the second style, and in the centre of one wall is painted a large window opening on to a vista landscape dominated by a tall vase-crowned column. Of the floral decorations in this house, Boni remarks that they are painted in a bright purple colour obtained from the *murex*. Another remarkable house is that mentioned above (p. 3) with paintings of Republican or maybe early Augustan date, which lay partly under the vestibule or throne-room of the Flavian Domus and the adjoining *lararium*. For a house of Julio-Claudian date under the peristyle see below, p. 27.



FIG. 268.—GROVE OF ARTEMIS. HOUSE OF LIVIA.

§ 9. *Paintings from Boscoreale*—*Pompeian "Villa of the Mysteries"*—*Villa of Livia at Prima Porta*—*The "Nozze Aldobrandine."*—Two remarkable villas near Pompeii decorated in the architectural style claim special attention. The first, at Boscoreale, belonging, it is conjectured, to Fannius Sinistor, has been despoiled of its marvellous wall-paintings, which are now distributed between Naples and New York. These paintings, however—even detached from their walls—at once arrest attention for the imaginative quality of their architectural motives.

The two principal walls of the cubiculum, for instance, are divided into three spaces by two painted Corinthian columns, in imitation of brilliant vermilion stucco, and adorned by spirals of foliage; from the architrave hang apotropaic shields and satyr masks. In the central division is a low-walled rectangular recess containing an altar flanked

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by benches which each support a golden hydria. A barred gate separates the recess from an enclosure; at the back in the midst of trees rises an ædícula of Diana; the upper part of the little shrine and the tree-tops are visible above the low walls of the altar recess (Fig. 269). In the spaces on either side heavy closed doors within low walls screen off groups of houses which adjoin the colonnade that surrounds the sacred grove of the central panel. Similar designs adorned the alcove of the bedroom: here the short walls exhibit the



FIG. 269.—WALL-PAINTING FROM BOSCOREALE.  
(New York.)

tent-pavilion and colonnade scheme; in the long wall, a grove is seen through the broken bars of a window and we note exquisite details—gaily feathered parrots, glass bowls laden with fruit, pergolas shaded by climbing rose trees; red-breasted birds perched on the edge of a drinking trough or hopping among the trailing ivy branches.

At times the piling up of detail may appear trivial and in bad taste, and as a fact these "vista" paintings sin against our modern canons of simplicity. We may even prefer to them our framed and glazed pictures with their illogical cords and picture rails. But these objections spring from a fundamentally divergent conception of wall-painting. Romans and Pompeians looked upon the wall as an architectonic space, full of possibilities, which lent itself to the introduction of perspective within perspective, with the object of producing round the room a sense of unending space. And to avoid monotony the space was crammed with detail. The modern world, on the contrary, respects the structural solidity of the wall and seeks by any means (hideous paper hangings, now happily going out of fashion, and framed pictures among them) to emphasize its mechanical function. The first style also had by means of its marble revetments—real or simulated—laid stress on structural solidity; so did the second style up to a point, but it brought in the suggestion of what lay beyond.

Our second group is in the Pompeian house on the site of the Villa



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Item, discovered in 1909 just outside the Porta di Ercolano; it at once became famous for the beauty and interest of its paintings, and from the subject of one series is generally known as the "Villa of the Mysteries." Here the second style is less fantastic than at Boscoreale; childish superfluities are discarded and the architecture assumes an almost dramatic quality. In the triclinium, for instance, the panelled divisions that simulate marble, the yellow pilasters which imitate gilding, and the stately bronze door with elegant frame and pediment have a quiet and restful beauty (Figs. 270 and 271). The door is hermetically closed to suggest what a distinguished critic calls "the mystery of the court beyond." But the enclosure keeps its secret and we cannot, as at Boscoreale, guess its character. The second style is further transformed in the decoration of the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta near Rome in the room with the garden frescoes (Fig. 272). Here, all semblance of a dividing wall has disappeared, or more correctly, it has been replaced by a complicated garden architecture, with grassy banks curving into exedras, with trellises and paths, with orchards and flower-beds, where birds and insects perch or flit among the foliage. The effect is of a garden surrounding a court, from which it is separated only by the trellis and the raised bank, so that the spectator looks into the gay, many-coloured tangle without



FIG. 270.—THE "MYSTERY OF THE CLOSED DOOR," POMPEII.

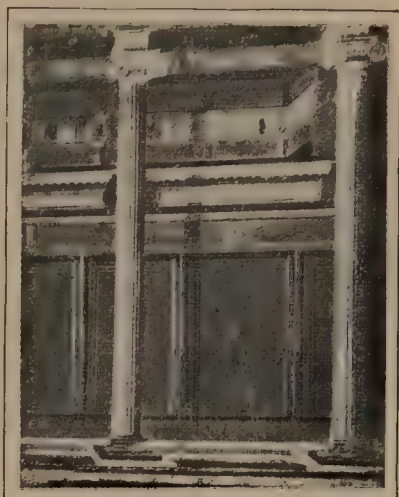


FIG. 271.—WALL-PAINTING FROM VILLA OF MYSTERIES, POMPEII.

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even the intervention of the familiar colonnade. The jealous door has vanished; we have entered the enchanted garden. The flowers are drawn and coloured with such precision that a modern botanist has been able to identify and catalogue them. Another good instance of this style of wall-decoration occurs in Rome in the so-called "Auditorium of Mæcenas"—more probably a garden-house—the walls of which are painted to produce a like illusion of a garden or park.

At Boscoreale and in the Villa of the Mysteries, figure painting makes its appearance by the side of architectural decoration. In the



FIG 272.—"WINTER GARDEN" WALL-PAINTING FROM VILLA OF LIVIA AT PRIMA PORTA.

larger triclinium of Boscoreale, in the wall-spaces between the pilasters and columns in the second style, are painted groups and single figures: a woman holding a child, a heavily draped woman and a nude man seated side by side, an old man leaning upon his staff, etc.—possibly family portraits.

In the Villa of the Mysteries a continuous figure-composition covers the whole available wall space of one room. The subject seems one of initiation into the mysteries of Dionysus, who is seen in the centre of the composition, reclining in the lap of a female figure, variously interpreted as Kore or Semele or Ariadne, and attended by his cortège of satyrs and Sileni. To either side are groups of those who await and those who have undergone the rites of initiation. On the extreme left a seated priestess (?)

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hears a child read from a liturgical scroll (Fig. 273). A similar scene occurs on one of the stuccoes from the basilica of Porta Maggiore. Next to these a girl, whose pose and gesture recall the Laurel-bearer of Anzio, carries a tray towards the group of a priestess and two attendants on the right. This whole group, in which the seated lady and the child may perhaps be portraits of the wife and child of the owner of the house, seems as yet unconcerned with the happenings nearer the centre. Then comes the group of Mænads, one of whom suckles a kid, and the terror-stricken maiden who, raising her veil with uplifted arms, flies from some ordeal invisible to us (Fig. 274). Upon these follow the pictures of the central wall: on the left the group of the seated Silenus holding a deep bowl into which a young Satyr is gazing while another looks on (Fig. 275); next comes the Dionysiac group already referred to. On the right a girl kneels and lays her left hand on the draped phallic emblem placed in a basket on the ground. Above, a powerful winged female figure wearing the high boots of a huntress raises a scourge. Immediately beyond is the bowed pathetic figure of a shrinking girl who kneels and hides her face in the lap of an older seated woman (Fig. 276). To the right again, a girl seen from the back stands in joyous nudity, and sounds the castagnettes to announce that she has emerged triumphant from the supreme test; or, according to a more prosaic explanation, the castagnettes are sounded to drown the cries



FIG. 273.—A LITURGICAL READING.  
(Villa of Mysteries, Pompeii.)



FIG. 274.—NURSLINGS OF DIONYSUS.  
(Villa of Mysteries, Pompeii.)

of the flagellated. Then, the excitement over, we see on the right, balancing the first group on the opposite wall, a gracious seated figure with attendants and an Eros at her side. It is the novice,



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who has now entered the mystic life where Love himself becomes her ministrant. On the single panel of the entrance-wall a woman detached from the rest gazes pensively at the whole scene.



FIG. 275.—GROUP OF SATYRS.  
(Villa of Mysteries, Pompeii.)

great importance because of its departure from the usual principles of the architectural style.



FIG. 276.—TERROR AND CONSOLATION.  
(Villa of Mysteries, Pompeii.)

The crescendo of emotion is impressive. On the one side of the wall-painting we have, so to speak, the calm before the storm; on the other, "the peace that passeth understanding," after the torturing ordeal. Then, between extremities and centre, are interposed those animated compositions that make visible the longings, the fears, the final triumph of the initiate. And in the centre the god smiling and serene, to all appearance indifferent, as is the wont of gods; yet providing in this scene of his own apotheosis the bond which holds together the whole composition.

As decoration the painting is of great importance because of its departure from the usual principles of the architectural style. The suggestion is no longer of a wall broken through to disclose vistas behind columns and panelling; but the figures are shown inside the room, deployed on a podium along its walls, with the panels as backgrounds. In yet another room the dancing Dionysiac figures between the columns are masterpieces of form and movement.

The famous "Aldobrandini marriage" of the Vatican Library, discovered in 1606 near the Arch of Gallienus on the Esquiline (Fig. 249), is a noted example of figure-painting of the period. As in the "Dionysiac initiation" of the Villa Item, the figures are disposed along the surface as on a frieze. The "marriage scene," of which, by the way, the continuation of the left side is missing, is more likely a scene of

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ritual initiation or a sacred marriage than any human ceremony (the god ivy-crowned waiting outside for the pale consecrated bride, on the left scenes of preparations, and on the right of rejoicing).

In Rome wall-painting was extensively used for the decoration of columbaria and other tombs. The columbarium of Villa Pamphili has already been alluded to in connection with the yellow frieze of the House of Livia. Other examples are the delicate paintings (branches, flowers, birds) round the *loculi* of the columbarium of the household of Livia on the Appian Way, and the graceful Victories, and figures playing flute or tambourine in the chamber of the pyramid of Cestius recently published by Lugli. This class of painting was necessarily on a small scale, but the "columbarium style," as it is called by Ashby, was likewise imitated, as we shall see, in larger buildings and in the House of Nero.

§ 10. *The so-called Third or Ornate Style—Subject Pictures.*—About the middle of the first century a third style of painting, known as the Composite or Ornate, made its appearance at Pompeii, which several modern critics refuse to recognize as a separate style, seeing in it only a variation on the themes of the second style. In it the old architectural divisions of socle, wall and frieze or clerestory, survive as decorative elements though they lose all functional character. The projecting lower strip and the socle alike recede into the plane of the wall. At the same time the central opening with vista in the wall surface above the socle is replaced by an *ædicula* or chapel-like recess containing what is intended to imitate a panel-picture; at either side the wall is divided into compartments decorated by miniature landscapes or floating figures. The empty space imagined above the wall is filled with graceful architectural details that recall certain decorations of the second style. "Reeds take the place of columns," as Vitruvius scornfully remarks, and what he calls "ribboned and streamered ornaments" are introduced, while candelabra alternate with reeds as a columnar motive. It is in this phase of the art that we first come across mythological compositions which may be compared to our own subject-pictures, kindred subjects forming pendants or a sequence being often selected for one house. For instance, in one room of the house of the "Amore Punito" we find represented on the one side Ares making love to Aphrodite, who sits pensive and irresponsible on a high-backed throne (Fig. 277), and on the other the goddess attended by a tiny Eros full of glee that the same punishment has not been meted out to him as to his small brother, who is led away crying in disgrace by one of his mother's attendants (Fig. 278).

From another house come "Europa on the bull amid the Cretan maidens," *Guida*, 1296, as pendant to "Pan piping among the



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nymphs," (*Guida*, 1298). Another pair represent "Meleager and Atalanta" (R.P.G.R. 179, 4), and "Hercules and Dejanira with the Centaur Nessus" (*ib.* 189, 3).

All these are interesting as showing a new relation of figures to landscape. We have seen in the paintings of the second style the figure subordinated to the landscape; now the reaction has set in, and the landscape becomes a mere setting for the figure. So too architecture, in the "Orestes and Pylades arriving at the house of Pelias" (Fig. 279), is brought in only to serve as background to the action.

§ 11. *The Fourth or Intricate Style.*—After about A.D. 50 a fourth style of wall-decoration, known as the Intricate or fantastic style, made its appearance, and lasted till the final catas-



FIG. 277.—MARS AND VENUS.  
(Naples.)

trophe which submerged Pompeii in 79. In reality it is only a return to the architectural schemes of the second style; and these, however fantastic, do not again lose their logical significance. The wall surface is now frequently broken up into niches decorated with painted statues, and the wall itself stands on a high ornate podium, which is not infrequently decorated, like the wall above, with figures or with pictures. The influence of stage architecture is generally claimed for this decoration, which may, however, be the simple and logical development of elements present from the first in Roman wall-painting. In this style the central

space is generally reserved for the large mythological compositions which are characteristic of the period (Fig. 280). It is in the fourth



FIG. 278.—THE PUNISHMENT OF CUPID.  
(Naples.)

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style likewise that landscapes with figures of pygmies, deriving, of course, from Egyptian models, begin to play so large a rôle, and develop into a class of landscape with buildings in the Egyptian style and Egyptian trees and plants; as in the Casa di Apolline at Pompeii, where Egyptian sycamores and palms overtop Egyptian buildings, though the figures are neither pygmies nor Egyptian, but a peasant driving his mule (Rostowzew, p. 78 and Fig. 45). A delightful landscape in Naples shows the centre of the scene taken up by a spreading tree within an enclosure composed of three columns united by an architrave; to the right cattle graze



FIG. 279.—ORESTES AND PYLADES AT THE COURT OF PELIAS.  
(Naples.)



FIG. 280.—WALL-PAINTING IN FOURTH STYLE.  
(Pompeii, Casa dei Vettii.)

in a meadow; in the foreground is a stream crossed by a bridge upon which we see a man with a long staff, followed by a goat; in the background are high hills, and temple-like buildings occupy the middle distance (*ib.*, Fig. 53; cf. Fig. 55). Many equally vivid examples have been allowed to fade and even to vanish completely.

Small landscapes furnished with all the accessories of pillars, enclosures, shrines and sacred trees as in the second style (Rostowzew 22) also make their appearance now, while, as in the *Odyssey* landscapes, there is a tendency to treat the figures as mere accessories. Among favourite motives at this time are long villa

façades and colonnades, glimpses of gardens and of terraces lapped by water upon which little pleasure-boats are gliding. But the glory

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of the fourth style and what gives it special distinction is the manner in which human figures are introduced into the architecture: beneath

airy pavilions Dionysus walks with the goat-legged Pan; a Mænad teases a Satyr; figures look over balustrades or "wander like sleep-walkers high up on a jutting cornice" (Woermann); down hanging stairways lovers advance towards one another with eager steps, and a girl may be seen balancing herself on an architrave as she plays with a sumptuous peacock.

§ 12. *Figure-painting of the Fourth Style.*—We now turn to the more formal figure-painting for which the fourth style in Pompeii and Herculaneum is justly famous. A grand example from Herculaneum is the well-known picture in Naples representing the childhood



FIG. 281.—CHILDHOOD OF TELEPHUS.  
(Detail. Naples.)

of Telephus (Figs. 49 and 281). The boy is seen on the ground on the left, nursed by the goat; above sits the local nymph, and Hercules, behind whom stands Auge, looks pensively down at the foundling he is about to adopt (Fig. 281) (R.P.G.R. 192, 6). The vigorous drawing, bold brushwork, and monumental composition are alike admirable. Among the innumerable pictures of this period we may cite as specially worthy of study the popular subject of "Achilles discovered by Ulysses at the court of Lycomedes" (*ib.* 166, 2, 4, 5, 7); "the boy Achilles taught by Chiron"—from Herculaneum (*ib.* 166, 1); "Bacchus visiting Ariadne" (*ib.* 111-116); "Hera standing before Zeus" (*ib.* 8, 4), recently reinterpreted as the meeting between the two divinities of Mount Ida—Zeus and Cybele; "Aphrodite and Adonis" (*ib.* 69,



FIG. 282.—SHEPHERD PIPING. ROMAN  
WALL-PAINTING.  
(British Museum.)

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65); and the three famous pictures of "Medea meditating the murder of her children" (*ib.* 195, 2, 4, 7); all in the Naples Gallery. Complicated spatial effects and crowded groupings are attempted at this time, as in the "Theseus and the Athenian Captives" (*ib.* 214, 2, 6), where the huddled captives, crowding forward in eager gratitude, form a striking contrast to the calm figure of Theseus, before whom crouches a small boy who passionately kisses the hero's feet. For purity of pose and outline, and simplicity and breadth of colouring (in spite of heavy modern retouches), nothing from the antique surpasses the lovely head, in the British Museum, of a shepherd playing on the pipes, with its almost Giorgionesque fancy and feeling (Fig. 282). This painting



FIG. 283.—FRIEZE OF CUPIDS.  
(House of the Vettii, Pompeii.)

is Roman and is said to have come from a columbarium of the Via Appia.

§ 13. *The House of the Vettii.*—The House of the Vettii at Pompeii, discovered in 1898 and partially restored, and with all its paintings left *in situ*, affords a complete example of decoration in the fourth style (Fig. 280). In a room on the north of the court we have the charming friezes of love-gods engaged in the various trades of painting, cloth-making and the like, the whole drawn with precision and conceived with excellent humour (Fig. 283). Doubtless the pursuits in which the love-gods are engaged suggest in allegorical form the sources of wealth of the Vettii. In the triclinium is a series of large pictures representing episodes of famous tragedies: "Pasiphae and the bull," "The punishment of Ixion," and "Dionysus and Ariadne." Here likewise we have the flying love-gods, the dancing Satyrs and Mænads so characteristic of the fourth style (R.P.G.R. 128-137). These groups, vulgarized by bad copies for the delight of tourists, are apt to be overlooked. But there are fine



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examples in the House of the Vettii and others at Naples (R.P.G.R. 140-143), more particularly those of a Centaur joyfully carrying off a



FIG. 284.—VENUS POMPEIANA, FROM A SHOP-FRONT IN POMPEII.

Bacchante, remarkable for their spontaneous grace and vigour. The motive was very popular, and in the second century we find it imitated and charged with a symbolic meaning in the stuccoes of the tomb of the Valerii on the Via Latina (p. 127).

It was till lately believed that painting at Pompeii was restricted to the interiors of houses and other buildings; but the discovery of the picture of

Venus Pompeiana in a car or ship drawn by elephants (Fig. 284) and its pendant of "Hermes standing in front of a shrine" on the entrance pilasters of a shop in the Strada dell' Abondanza, introduces us to a class of painting akin to our modern shop-signs. Each picture has a sort of predella, representing under the Hermes a customer buying coloured slippers, and under the Venus a cloth factory. Other instances are the *fullonica* with the image of *Venus Pompeiana* on the left pillar, standing with Eros at her side, and on the right pillar a procession in honour of the same goddess whose image carried by four stalwart bearers has been brought to a standstill in front of an altar. It is, moreover, probable that in Roman days, and perhaps in antiquity generally, the exterior walls of houses were covered with painted decorations as in the Renaissance. At times painting seems to have



[Photo, Ist. Arti Grafiche.

FIG. 285.—PAINTED ALTAR, (Milan.)



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taken the place of relief as altar decoration. At Milan, for instance, is an interesting and, so far as I know, well-nigh unique example of an altar painted on all three sides with the figures of various divinities (Fig. 285), which reminds one of the earlier altars painted by Theodotus (Vol. I., p. 62).

### § 14. *Painting at Rome in the Period of the Fourth Style.*—

In the period of the fourth style painting in Rome seems to have followed a somewhat different course from what it did at Pompeii. I have already referred to certain paintings from the Golden House of Nero (p. 19), where further study shows the predominance of decoration in the Columbarium style. It shares with the fourth or intricate

Pompeian style the love of arabesques and fantastic architectural patterns; but the pictures, though often of excellent quality and great charm, are subordinate to the general design of wall or ceiling, whereas at Pompeii large figure-subjects that occupy the principal



FIG. 286.—MARS AND RHEA SILVIA. CEILING-PAINTING IN GOLDEN HOUSE.

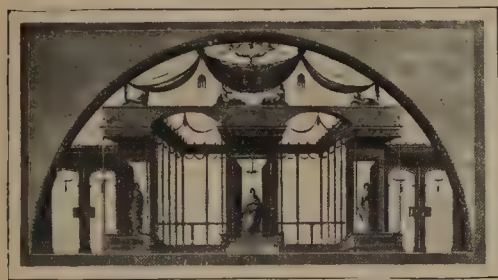


FIG. 287.—ARCHITECTURAL DECORATION FOR LUNETTE. GOLDEN HOUSE.

whereas at Pompeii large figure-subjects that occupy the principal wall-space are a significant factor in the decoration. The comparatively small pictures of the Roman fourth style, when placed at a great height, (cf. the *Mars and Rhea Silvia* in one of the lofty vaulted corridors of the Golden House, Fig. 286, No. 16 on plan),<sup>1</sup> must have been well-nigh invisible

<sup>1</sup> Vol. I., Fig. 213 in Chapter IX.

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examples illustrated in Figs. 287 and 288, while Fig. 289 from a more recently opened corridor (70 on plan) shows a charmingly patterned ceiling with fantastic animals within foliated squares.

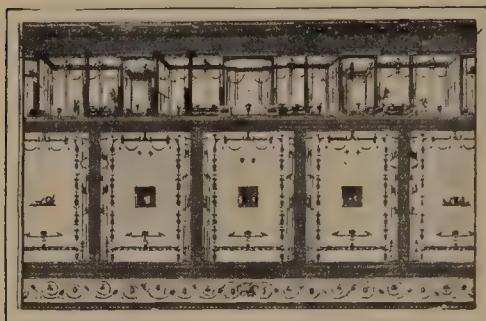


FIG. 288.—WALL-PAINTING. GOLDEN HOUSE.

remarkable paintings were recovered in Dr. Weege's excavations of 1912. They apparently formed part of a Trojan cycle including "Hector's Parting from Andromache" (amusingly misinterpreted by older draughtsmen as Coriolanus and his mother), so that we shall probably be correct in looking upon this room as the one in which Nero recited his "Taking of Troy" (Vol. I., p. 178). The name



FIG. 289.—CEILING-PAINTING. GOLDEN HOUSE.

of one of the painters employed on the Golden House—they must have been legion—has been preserved by Pliny (xxxv. 120). He was one *Famulus*, "grave and severe in his person," who worked "always wearing the toga, even when mounted on the scaffolding"—which may only mean that the cumbersome garment marked him out as the *padrone* of a large gang of assistants. Pliny, who rather foolishly called the Golden House "the prison of his art," also notes a Minerva by him "whose eyes are turned to the spectator from whatever side he may be looking." Colour laid on to flat surfaces did not satisfy the luxuriant tastes of the Neronian epoch.

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Gilt stucco ornament came into fashion, as in the room of the Golden House known as the Volta Dorata. But it does not appear that actual subject-compositions in stucco were at any time painted or gilded.

Other paintings, a little earlier perhaps than those of the Domus Aurea, are in a house of Julio-Claudian date on the Palatine, afterwards buried under the Flavian palace (p. 58). Next to an exquisite *nymphæum* adorned with clusters of slender columns is a room whose pavement and walls are incrustated with marble, while a decoration, including a series of little pictures from the Trojan cycle carried out partly in stucco and partly in paint, is let into the ceiling.<sup>1</sup> But all this, like everything found of recent years on the Palatine, is unpublished. With Julio-Claudian paintings must also be reckoned the delicate wall decorations, including *putti* (one preparing to climb a ladder, Fig. 290), recently removed to the Terme from the Galleria Rospigliosi, which had formerly adorned a house under the Rospigliosi Palace.

From Ostia come two scenes composed as pendants, so Augustan in spirit that it seems reasonable to assign them to his principate.

On the one, a group of children—from the dress all of them boys—are forming in procession on the right, while another group, torches in hand, are singing a hymn to the *potens Diana* of the *Carmen Sæculare*. On the second picture two boys, veiled and crowned as priests, are engaged in a ritual scene; on the right a child carries a banner; on the left a ritual ship (?) is being dragged to shore by two more boys. These mural paintings have long been in the Museo Profano of the Vatican<sup>2</sup> (Figs. 291 and 292).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. at Pompeii, in the recently excavated "House of the Cryptoporticus," the little frieze (30 cm. high) with scenes from the *Iliad*: in white on a blue ground (Warscher, p. 253 f.).

<sup>2</sup> Or they may be figuring as the bride and bridegroom of a ritual marriage; cf. the explanation of these pictures as the festival of a Roman "May King and Queen," propounded by A. Dietrich in *Sommertag*, 1905 (reprinted in his *Kleine Schriften*, 1911).



FIG. 290.—PUTTO ON LADDER. WALL-PAINTING FROM HOUSE UNDER PALAZZO ROSPIGLIOSI. (Terme.)



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§ 16. *Portraiture in Painting*.—It is only lately that any attention has been paid to the ancient painted portraits, which must have been as common as the portrait bust.

The Mosaic of Virgil, copied in the second century from an original of the first, has already been described (Vol. I., Fig. 226), and I have pointed out on p. 64 that portrait painting was practised from an early date. The vogue must have increased, since in the last century of the Republic Varro had collected, it is said, as many as seven hundred miniature portraits of illustrious men which he inserted into



FIG. 291.—BOYS SINGING IN HONOUR OF DIANA, FROM OSTIA.  
(Vatican.)

his writings. He presumably found much material in the public libraries, where statues or more probably busts of authors were placed over the cases which contained their writings (Pliny, *H.N.*, 3, 4, 10; cf. Cicero, *ad Att.*, iv, 10).

Already under the Republic a certain maiden lady whose name is variously given as Jaja or Laia of Cyzicus, painted, according to Varro, with the cestrum on ivory, portraits of women, and, moreover, by the help of the looking-glass (*ad speculum*), painted a likeness of herself (p. 109). Some echo of this portrait may have survived in the charming head from Pompeii of a girl with a pencil against her lips, popularly known as a poetess.

Claudius thought to please the people by substituting the face of Augustus for that of Alexander on the picture of the Macedonian king which Augustus himself had placed in his Forum.



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Under Nero we hear of one Terentius of Lucania, a portrait painter, who executed for a portico at Antium a number of heads of gladiators and other servitors, a series that reminds us of the portraits of charioteers in the Terme (R.P.G.R., 296, 1-4); a later instance of the fashion has survived in the large mosaic with gladiators now in the Lateran which was found in the Baths of Caracalla (Fig. 478). Nero himself was painted on a canvas of colossal scale for a room of the palace of the Lamian Gardens on the Esquiline, but so perishable is painting that no traces of any of these works have survived.



FIG. 292.—BOYS' PROCESSION WITH RITUAL SHIP, FROM OSTIA.  
(Vatican.)

On Italian soil, it is only at Pompeii that we have undoubted examples of ancient portrait-painting, and these might be more numerous had we not, unmindful of many warnings, allowed the mass of medallion portraits discovered there to perish. A number of these may be studied in Paris, at the École des Beaux-Arts, in the water-colour copies by M. Gusman, who has, moreover, reproduced not a few in his book on Pompeii. The majority belong to the later or Augustan phase of the second or architectural style, which lasted into the Julio-Claudian period. Thanks to its removal to Naples, the double portrait of Terentius Neo and his wife has been admirably preserved (Fig. 293). Another, first published in the *Archæological Journal* for 1897, is of a little boy of the Augustan age (Fig. 294). It has now vanished.

Every one must be struck by the close likeness of those Pompeian examples to the earlier of the portraits painted on wood panels

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which, from the end of the Ptolemaic period to the period of Septimius Severus onward, were let into the mummy case and have been found in quantities in the Fayoun. This confirms the supposition that influences flowing from Egypt to Italy in the first century affected the whole of Roman portraiture.



FIG. 293.—TERENTIUS NEO AND HIS WIFE.  
(Naples.)

§ 17. *Mosaic from the last century of the Republic to the Julio-Claudian period—Transcripts of Painting—opus sectile.*—Closely allied to painting are the mosaic pictures, which in reality are a kind of painting with the added advantages of permanence, and of a brilliancy of colouring unknown to other processes. These pictures are invariably carried out in *opus vermiculatum*; that is, the tesserae are cut into various shapes and sizes so that every line of the design, however curved and twisted,

can be followed as faithfully as with the brush and paint. This style of mosaic probably made its way fully developed into Italy from Egypt, about the close of the second or beginning of the first century. Roman soil has so far yielded no pieces of earlier date; but we have a grand example of the early part of the first century at Palestrina, in a mosaic which may, as we have seen, be the very one presented by Sulla to the oracular cave of the shrine of the Fortuna of Præneste. We may describe it here at somewhat greater length as it is the first of an important series. The admirable design,



FIG. 294.—PORTRAIT OF LITTLE BOY (VANISHED).  
(Pompeii.)

in which something higher has surely been attained than a mere “learned dissertation upon fish” (Rostowzew), shows a number of

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fish of various kinds darting backwards and forwards through the water with lively movements. Possibly the illusion was rendered more intense by covering the mosaic at times with a shallow sheet of water. Vol. I., Fig. 70, shows the forepart of a fish as he swims towards a pillar dedicated to Poseidon. It reminds one of Strabo's description of the shrines of Poseidon on the headlands by the sea. The pillar, tied with a sash or fillet, stands within the typical enclosure; and in front of it burns an altar raised on two steps and adorned with garlands. The strong and vivid colouring is carried out in only four shades—yellow, brown, red and purple. Fish mosaics, that is, mosaics imitating fish swimming in tanks, became very fashionable in the late Republic and under the Empire. They were intended to represent in a permanent form the fish-ponds of which we find traces all over Italy, both in the interior and along the seashore. One admirable example from Pompeii, well known as the "Battle of the Fish," represents an octopus seizing his enemy the lobster, while a number of other fish swim terrified in all directions. A religious significance probably attached to these representations and accounts for their popularity.

There seems no reason for dating the large and famous "Barberini mosaic" of Palestrina, which was found in the apse of the shrine of Fortuna (Vol. I., p. 79), either in Hadrianic or Augustan times. The purely Egyptian subject, life on the banks of the Nile, is in harmony with the intrusion of Egyptian fashions in later Republican times. The illustration chosen (Vol. I., Fig. 69) gives one of its most important scenes, with Roman soldiers feasting under the awning in front of a pavilion on the banks of the Nile, while all around are the various details of a conventional Nile landscape. Interesting transcripts of pictures are found among Pompeian mosaics. One of the most famous is the "Battle of Alexander and Darius" in the Naples Museum—after a famous picture by the Græco-Egyptian painter Helena, that hung at a later date in Vespasian's "Forum of Peace" (Guida, 907).

Two others which are composed as pendants, remind us in the choice of their subjects—a group of strolling players (Fig. 295), and two young ladies consulting a sorceress—of the little triptychs in the House of Augustus and the House of the Farnesina. But in this case the figures are masked, and thus betray their direct derivation from scenes of the Attic Middle Comedy. On the dark strips at the bottom of the mosaic of the strolling players we read the name Dioscorides of Samos. A fourth mosaic, of which two slightly different versions exist, the one found near Pompeii (R.P.G.R., 261, 2. Naples Mus., Guida, 892), the other in the Villa Albani, found at Sarsina, introduces us to an assembly of the Seven Sages, who sit pleasantly conversing



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outside a pillared enclosure that resembles the sacred precincts on certain landscapes of the architectural style (Fig. 296). The finished



FIG. 295.—MOSAIC BY DIOSCORIDES FROM POMPEII.  
(Naples.)

composition of these mosaics, and the fact that the signatures, when we have any, are Greek, make it probable that here, as in the case of the “Hellenistic” reliefs or the wall-paintings, we have Greek

artists working for Roman and Italian patrons. Besides the Dioscorides mentioned above, we find the signature of the Greek Herakleitos on a large mosaic in the Lateran which represents, evidently in direct imitation of the mosaic by Sosus of Pergamon described by Pliny, an unswept floor where mice are making off with the scraps of food that have fallen from the

table. Be it noted, by the way, that not Romans, but refined

Græco-Asiatics invented and took delight in the unsavoury subject.

Possibly the whole has a religious meaning that now escapes us. This seems indicated by the presence of the stork, the duck, the fish, and the statuettes of divinities in other parts of the border (R.P.G.R., 374, 4).



FIG. 296.—THE SEVEN SAGES. ROMAN MOSAIC.  
(Rome: Villa Albani.)

In the collection of mosaics at Naples, we find mythological subjects such as Theseus and the Minotaur (*Guida*, 872), or the punishment of Lycurgus (*Guida*, 875); and numerous scenes from animal life, ranging from the cock-fight (*Guida*, 881) to the celebrated dog inscribed CAVE CANEM (Vol. I., Fig. 55). A mosaic of excep-



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tional beauty represents the triumph of "Autumn," imaged as a nude winged boy, ivy-crowned and riding a panther with a wreath of poplar-leaves round his neck (*Guida*, 906). Egyptian landscapes long continued in fashion. They often reproduce scenes on the Nile, like the frieze in Naples which once framed the mosaic of Alexander (p. 31) from the House of the Faun at Pompeii (*Guida*, 90-903), or the large square mosaic from the Aventine in the Museo delle Terme, where pygmies are attacking a crocodile and a hippopotamus on the banks of the Nile. The attempt at expressing depth and the fusion of the different features of the scene show a great advance on the simple disconnected composition of the Pales-trina mosaic.

*Opus sectile*, a marble in-tarsia or marquetric, was much in fashion. A good example of Augustan (?) date is in the collection of Prince Colonna in Rome. It represents the childhood of Romulus and Remus, who are being suckled by the wolf in the presence of Roma and of the shepherd Faustulus; the colours employed are white and yellow for the figures, and black for the ground (Fig. 297).



FIG. 297.—THE BIRTH-LEGEND OF ROMA. OPUS SECTILE  
(Rome: Palazzo Colonna.)

§ 19. *Decorated pavements*—*opus signinum* and *opus tessellatum*: *early pavements of Forum and Palatine*.—The coarse and simple mosaic known as *opus signinum*, because it was supposed to have been first used at Signia, appears to be of considerable antiquity; it is merely a pavement of pounded tiles and chalk into which rude geometrical designs formed by pebbles were inserted. A third variety, *opus tessellatum*, is composed of small equal-sized cubes of marble set in straight lines, or patterns formed of combinations of straight lines, into a bed of cement; the numerous black-and-white mosaics used for the decoration of pavements are carried out in this technique. The mosaic of a Republican or early Imperial house on the Palatine is described as follows in Signor Boni's report. "The threshold and the pavement are in slabs of the most beautiful and precious African red breccia, separated by slabs of green-veined cipollino marble from the island of Eubœa." The atrium, he continues, and the lateral rooms or cubicula "are paved

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with marble slabs which covered mosaic floors belonging to an earlier period. These mosaics are not composed of fragments of marble, but of pebbles from the Umbrian confluents of the Tiber, red, yellow, green and black limestones, grouped so as to produce a polychromatic effect, which is not only beautiful in itself, but also interesting as important evidence of that inspiration towards a kind of decoration the taste for which the Romans were able to satisfy to the utmost later on, when they came in contact with the Eastern and African marbles."

An interesting example of Republican floor-mosaic may be seen in the pavement of the temple of the Castores below the level of the bases of the columns of the Imperial restoration of A.D. 6; and similar mosaics may be studied in the House of Augustus on the Palatine, and in the *Domus Pontificia*, or House of the Pontifex Maximus near the temple of Vesta, where also are faint traces of Republican paintings. The fine mosaic pavements, with black lineo-floral ornament on white ground, of the hypogeum near the Porta Maggiore, also deserve mention.

§ 20. *Origins of the Roman Subject Picture.*—I cannot touch here on the difficult question whether the Roman and Pompeian wall-paintings and mosaics which reproduce subject-pictures were or were not copied from Greek or Alexandrian models. The balance of evidence seems to be rather in favour of assuming the influence of such models, and doubtless the copying of single figures, and the copying and adaptation of groups; yet of allowing the Italian wall-decorators the merit of having exercised great discretion, and even taste in re-adapting these models to the actual surroundings to be decorated. It has been well noted, for instance, that in the House of the Vettii the lights in the large pictures of the triclinium are expressly adapted to harmonize with the conditions of lighting of the room.

One other point calls for mention. Recently various scholars have put forward the attractive theory that in certain cases at least, illustrated manuscripts served the Roman and Pompeian painters as models. The Homeric scenes in the "House of the Cryptoporticus" at Pompeii may be a case in point, and possibly the Homeric series in the Julio-Claudian house on the Palatine (p. 27) had a like origin. We might conjecture the same for the Odyssey landscapes of the Via Graziosa in the Vatican Library. The early existence of parchments with illustrations of Trojan episodes seems proved by a manuscript of Virgil, No. 3225 in the Vatican Library, which, though itself of fourth-century date, reproduces the typical landscapes and little shrines in the second Pompeian style (see p. 11 f.). And we have

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already alluded, in connection with the mosaic of Virgil, to the portrait of the poet at the beginning of a manuscript of his works which was seen by Martial (xiv. 186):

"Quam brevis inmensum cepit membrana Maronem!  
Ipsius et vultus prima tabella gerit."

Of the difficult subject of technique it is impossible to speak here, but the best results of modern research will be found in Dr. Eibner's exhaustive treatise.

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FIG. 298.—CUPS BY CHEIRISOPHOS, FOUND IN DENMARK.  
(Copenhagen.)

## CHAPTER XII

### UNDATED WORKS OF THE AUGUSTAN AND JULIO-CLAUDIAN PERIODS—THE MINOR ARTS

The artistic output of the Augustan and Julio-Claudian age was so great that it is necessary to review separately certain of its undated works and minor products which emphasize what is already apparent from the attempted chronological reconstruction of the period.

§ 1. *Triumphal Scenes on Cameos, etc.*—Portrait gems and coins have been touched upon in the chapter on Portraiture; we have still to consider certain sculptural compositions on cameos inspired perhaps by the reliefs of triumphal character that once decorated the arches, the fora or the temples of the period; good instances are the cameo in Vienna (Sc. R., Pl. XXX) with the apotheosis of Augustus seated by the side of Roma, which may be connected with the Pannonian triumph of A.D. 13; the *Grand Camée de France* (Sc. R., Pl. XXXI), with the glorification of the Imperial family, living and dead; the cameo in Berlin with the apotheosis of a Julio-Claudian prince (Germanicus or Nero?) crowned by a goddess, (R.R., II, 236, 4). The silver patera at Vienna found at Aquileia (Fig. 299 = R.R. II, 146, 1, cf. Vol. I, p. 143) similarly glorifies the Imperial rule: in the centre an Emperor, who has been variously



FIG. 299.—GLORIFICATION OF THE IMPERIAL  
RULE. SILVER PATERA.  
(Vienna.)

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interpreted as Caligula, Claudius or Nero, is represented as Triptolemus making offerings to Demeter, seen enthroned on the right;

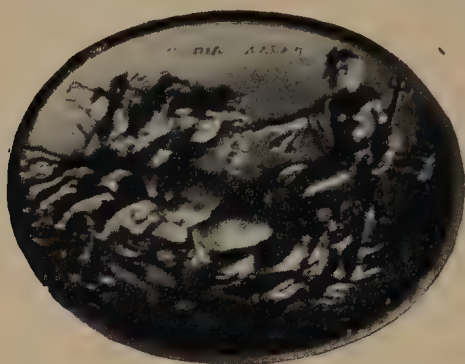


FIG. 300.—TRIUMPH OF AUGUSTUS. INCISED GEM.  
(Boston.)

the Hours feed the snakes of the Imperial chariot, while Psyche and the love-gods bring up additional gifts; below is Tellus with the cow at her side to symbolize the fertility of the Orbis. The group of children is of peculiar beauty and recalls the idyllic frieze on the cameo of Tryphon (Fig. 318). With this patera should be compared the cameo in Paris showing Claudius and Messalina as Triptolemus and Demeter,

(R.R. II, 236, 5), noted above in witness of the Emperor's predilection for the Eleusinian cults. Similar compositions are found on intaglios, as on the fine sard from Hadrumetum, showing Augustus as Poseidon, driving a four-horse chariot over a troubled sea, in memory doubtless of the civil wars and the battle of Actium (Fig. 300).

§ 2. *The Mainz Sword: the Boscoreale Cups.*—Similar scenes to those on cameos and patera occur on a number of objects such as weapons, silver cups and other utensils. The sword-sheath inscribed FELICITAS TIBERI (Fig. 301, British Museum, *Bronzes*, 867), which was found at Mainz, and probably belonged to an officer of the armies of Drusus or Tiberius, is adorned with bands of ornament, while the topmost panel represents Augustus attended by allegorical personages receiving Tiberius, who offers him an image of victory.

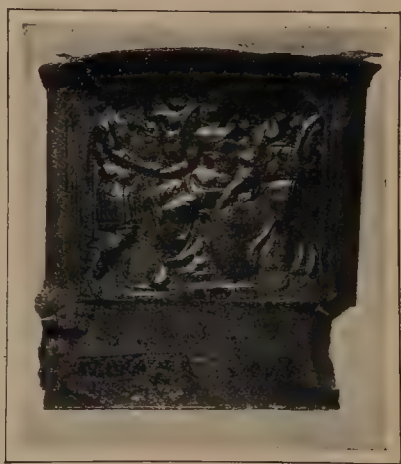


FIG. 301.—AUGUSTUS ON SWORD-SHEATH  
FROM MAINZ.  
(British Museum.)

Above the point is the figure of an Amazon, short girt and wearing

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the Phrygian cap, and immediately above her, divided only by a band of ornament, is represented a temple with arcuated pediment of Syrian type, within which perches the Imperial eagle. On either side, between the columns, are planted standards.

Closely connected with the reliefs of the Mainz sheath are the two cups from Boscoreale in the Louvre (*Sc. R.*, 52, 56). The first shows on the one side Augustus enthroned between Venus Victrix (who is accompanied by various allegorical figures and by a Julio-Claudian prince) and Mars, who brings a group of provinces, featured as beautiful women, into the Imperial presence (*Vol. I*, p. 143). On the other side the Emperor (clearly Augustus), receives the submission of conquered peo-



FIG. 302.—AUGUSTUS RECEIVING CONQUERED PEOPLES. CUP FROM BOSCOREALE. (Louvre.)



FIG 303.—TRIUMPH OF TIBERIUS. CUP FROM BOSCOREALE. (Louvre.)

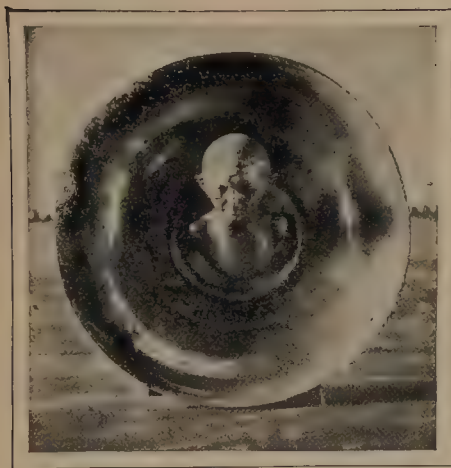


FIG. 304.—PLATE WITH EMBLEMA.

ples (Fig. 302), a composition that anticipates the similar scene on the column of Trajan at the close of the first Dacian war. On the second cup we have the two episodes of a triumphal sacrifice; the procession with the Imperial chariot, in which stands an imperial figure resembling Tiberius, and the actual sacrifice before the temple (Fig. 303). The plates with *emblemata*—figures in the round projecting from the surface—are remarkable; we have a half-figure of Africa wearing her elephant hide, while other

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cups bear portraits supposed to be those of the owners. The faces, though not of Imperial personages, are of the Augustan period, or little later (Fig. 304).



FIG. 305.—CUPS FROM BOSCOREALE.  
(Louvre.)

The cups in the Louvre with naturalistic floral decoration are from the same find at Boscoreale; the cup with the plane-leaves, for instance (Fig. 305), compares well with the lovely altar in the Terme, and the cup with the olive-twigs (Fig. 306) recalls the celebrated cup from Alesia (Fig. 307); the cups adorned with cranes and storks (Fig. 305), that with the swan, the boar and the dead hare and shepherd's staff—a motive familiar to Greek art and poetry; that with the rabbit and the birds, the dormouse nibbling at dessert amid a débris of bones; the little loves riding on panthers and donkeys, elephants and lions; the embossed cups with vine-leaves and laurel-twigs; the shapely mirrors; the jugs adorned with victories in the act of sacrifice, recalling the figures on Campanian vases; the drinking cups adorned with wreaths and skeletons (Sc. R., Fig. 31); are examples of that art of *cælatura* which aroused the enthusiasm of Pliny.<sup>1</sup> R.R.I., 33-91.

§ 3. *The Treasures of Hildesheim and Berthouville*.—It has been surmised that the silver plate found in 1868 at Hildesheim, also dating from the early

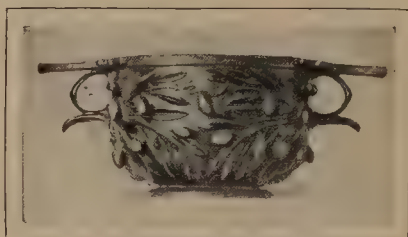


FIG. 306.—CUP WITH OLIVE TWIGS FROM BOSCOREALE.



FIG. 307.—CUP FROM ALESIA.

<sup>1</sup> The genuineness of these cups—and indeed of the whole Boscoreale series—has been recently challenged; the question is a difficult one and judgment must be reserved. My own opinion, based on the style and composition, is in favour of their genuineness.



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part of the first century, belongs to the dinner-service of one of the luckless officers, perhaps of Varus himself, who were cut down in the Teutoburger Wald in A.D. 9. One splendid mixing-bowl is adorned with floral scrolls which recall those of the *Ara Pacis*; another has a figure of Athena (Fig. 308) in the Pergamene style highly embossed; on a third we see a fine rendering of the infant Hercules strangling the snakes, a subject common in Pompeian frescoes; others, again, have *emblemata* of



FIG. 308.—SILVER PLATE FROM HILDESHEIM.  
(Berlin.)

Cybele and Mên-Attis, the latter one of the earliest Western representations of the youthful god. Other pieces with masks and Bacchic attributes resemble in style and subject the ordinary decorative marble craters of Hellenistic and Roman art.

A third treasure from Berthouville in Normandy is now in the Cabinet des Médailles. This contains two magnificent *cœnochoæ*, representing scenes from the story of Achilles, a favourite subject in

R o m a n  
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t o t h e  
c o n t o r n i -  
a t e s o f t h e  
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c e n t u r i e s  
A.D., t h e  
l a m e n t  
o v e r t h e  
b o d y o f  
P a t r o c l u s ,

t h e w e i g h i n g o f t h e b o d y o f H e c t o r b e f o r e  
A c h i l l e s a n d P r i a m , t h e b o d y o f H e c t o r d r a g -  
g e d a t t h e c h a r i o t - w h e e l s o f A c h i l l e s , a n d t h e  
d e a t h o f A c h i l l e s , w h o m A j a x i s l a b o u r i n g t o  
p r o t e c t f r o m t h e a t t a c k s o f Æ n e a s a n d h i s f r i e n d s ( F i g . 3 0 9 ) ; o t h e r  
c u p s s h o w c o u c h a n t C e n t a u r s , m a l e a n d f e m a l e , p l a y i n g w i t h l i t t l e  
l o v e - g o d s a m i d a c r o w d o f a c c e s s o r y o b j e c t s ( F i g . 3 1 0 ) . T h e f a n t a s y

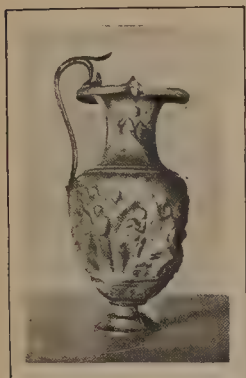


FIG. 309.—SILVER JUG FROM  
BERTHOUVILLE.  
(Cabinet des Médailles.)



FIG. 310.—GOBLET WITH CENTAURS, FROM  
BERTHOUVILLE.  
(Cabinet des Médailles.)

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is inexhaustible; here a female Centaur holds up a bowl, that the love-god may see himself reflected in its concave surface; another offers a dish of fruit to her winged playmate; while a bearded Centaur allows his young tormentor to pull his tangled locks. Other pieces have admirable *emblemata* representing Hermes standing beside a stele, or Ariadne asleep amid the love-gods; yet another gives us a charming group of the nymph Pirene stroking Pegasus, as he drinks at her fountain, with the temple of Aphrodite on the hill behind; while the victorious athlete, and the deities of Corinth, Poseidon and Amphitrite (?), are grouped about a herm.

§ 4. *Analogous Works at Naples, Munich, Vienna and Copenhagen.*

—Naples possesses the famous vase from Herculaneum with the apotheosis of Homer: the veiled poet borne to heaven on the wings of a mighty eagle between symbolic figures of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, who are seated among the leaves and tendrils. At Naples also are two cups with Centaurs, male and female, more boldly designed and less cumbered with details and accessories than those of the Berthouville cups. Two other objects at Naples, though of bronze, not of silver, call for mention here, since the subject of one and the style of both link them with the cups from



FIG. 311.—GLADIATORIAL HELMET.  
(Naples.)

Berthouville. These are the gladiatorial helmets with their rich embossed work, one of which represents the sack of Troy and the escape of Æneas, composed in that true Augustan spirit which was for ever insisting on the Trojan origin of the Romans; the other the apotheosis of Rome, a subject equally Augustan in spirit and treatment. Both helmets came from Pompeii (Fig. 311). A vase in the Munich Antiquarium represents the massacre of Trojan prisoners by Neoptolemus; another reproduces the battle of Centaurs and Lapiths. Two magnificent examples of ancient *cælatura* of Augustan date were discovered as lately as 1920 in Denmark (Fig. 298). One is adorned with the symbolic episode of Priam kneeling to Achilles, a theme dear to the Romans on historical as well as on religious grounds. Both cups are engraved in Latin letters with the name of the Greek artist Cheirisophos (CHIRISOPHOS EPOI), which shows that they were made for Roman patrons,

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and possibly for presentation to some Northern chieftain. Certain silver cups, like the example in the Corsini collection with the Judgment of Orestes (Pfuhl, Figs. 635-6), may well be Augustan reproductions of famous Greek pictures.

### § 5. Metal Inlay—Furniture.—

By the side of metal relief we get metal inlay, as on the *lectica Capitolina* in the Conservatori, with its beautiful silver intarsia of scrolls and flowers let into the bronze; the baldacchino is supported by herms of Sileni, and the carrying-poles end in the heads of youthful satyrs. Augustan furniture was of great beauty and elegance, though Suetonius, writing under the rule of the



FIG. 312.—VINTAGE-SCENE FROM ARM OF  
COUCH.  
(Conservatori.)

of Augustus was “hardly fit for a gentleman’s house nowadays.” Besides the litter we should notice the couch (falsely restored as a seat or *bisellium*) in the same museum, found at Amiternum near Aquila. It was used for reclining at meals, and belongs to the class known as *lecti Boethiaci*, after Boethus of Chalcedon, a sculptor and third-century bronze-worker of the Pergamene School, who made, it is said, elaborate couches of this kind. Like the *lectica*, it offers an example of metal intarsia, the arms or supports being inlaid in copper and silver. The design reproduces Bacchic scenes, among which we note (Fig. 312) two satyrs and a woman gathering grapes; an image and altar of Priapus; a woman extracting a thorn from the foot of a satyr; a Silenus chastising a satyr



FIG. 313.—IVORY CARVING FROM ARM  
OF COUCH.  
(British Museum.)

who has let fall a basket of grapes. Similar scenes run along the left arm. At times also the sides of couches were beautifully carved in ivory. Of this the fragment in the British Museum with the reclining figure of Dionysos affords an exquisite example (Fig. 313). At this period there seem to have been a special demand for

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ivory carving. Among good examples in Naples are the disc of Apollo enthroned, holding out his hand to feed a snake which a young priestess is bringing to him (*Guida*, 1824); and the "Rape of Proserpine" from a casket.



FIG. 314.—HEAD OF WOLF, FROM NEMI.  
(Terme.)

heads of animals (in the Museo delle Terme) which decorated the ends of the two pleasure-galleys found in Lake Nemi, of the Julio-Claudian period, bear witness to the skill lavished on the study of animals. The finest is the head of a lion from the front of a post;

the brow is contracted; the jaw, open to hold a metal ring, discloses the powerful canine teeth and the hanging tongue of the panting creature. The head of a dog or wolf (Fig. 314) is another masterpiece. As we noted in the case of terra-cottas these heads serve both as ornaments and as apotropaic emblems to avert evil influences. Thus another beam was protected not by an animal's head, but by a gorgoneion—most powerful of all apotropaic images—which shows at the same time how interest in animal sculpture is maintained.



FIG. 315.—BRONZE TRIPOD.  
(Pompeii.)

Bronze furniture was made in quantities from this time on. A charming example is the well-known tripod from Pompeii. It is supported on statuesque sphinxes worked with the utmost care; the vertical rim of the tray is adorned with garlands in the style of the *Ara Pacis* or the Boscotrale cups (Fig. 315).



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### § 6. *Glass—the Portland and Naples Vases—Myrrhine Ware.*—

In glass, which so often imitated the workmanship of precious stones, we get objects such as the Portland vase, worthy to be placed beside the finest efforts of the cameo-cutter: the technique—white figures against a deep blue ground—seems faultless even if the composition (a ritual initiation?) strikes us as too academic. The medallion on the bottom of the vase with the profile bust of Attis (Fig. 316) is sometimes thought to be a *pièce rapportée*, but it is of fine quality. The Portland vase is far surpassed in the lifelikeness of the subject, and the consequent vitality of its art, by the celebrated blue glass jar with love-gods vintaging from Pompeii (Fig. 317). This shows the fresh life infused into the Alexandrian love-gods by the interest which the Augustan age took in child-life. The Amorini of the Pompeian vase are the predecessors of the little rogues of the House of the Vettii; of the winged urchins who figure on wall-paintings and sarcophagi, on drinking-cups and tombs, who pass over into the mosaics of Christian art, where they are seen fishing and swimming in the rivers of Paradise. Here on the Naples vase they enjoy the thoroughly Italian pastime of the vintage, some busily gathering the luscious bunches of grapes, while others are already inside large vats, treading out the red juice. The new delight in representing children, generally masquerading as love-gods and engaged in mimicking the life and ways of grown-up people, has already been touched upon; a fascinating instance is the marriage of Cupid and Psyche as figured on the celebrated cameo signed by Tryphon from the Marlborough collection, now in Boston (Fig. 518). The bride and bridegroom no longer the



FIG. 316.—BUST OF ATTIS FROM PORTLAND VASE.  
(British Museum.)



FIG. 317.—LOVE-GODS VINTAGING. BLUE GLASS VASE.  
(Pompeii.)

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adolescents of the legend, appear here as a tiny boy and girl, very human-looking save for their wings, who bend under the weight of the "sacred things" which they carry on their heads, while in front of them a sly love-god who leads the bridal procession smiles at the bashful pair.



FIG. 318.—THE CAMEO OF TRYPHON.  
(Boston.)

In the new museum at New York are magnificent specimens of the famous myrrhine vases, whose technique was long a matter of dispute, but which are now believed to have been composed of fine glass filaments placed side by side to form the desired pattern, and then fired

(Fig. 319). Arrian and Propertius speak of their being made in Africa and Parthia; and the high value placed upon them seems to show that they were imported and not made in Rome. The extraordinary beauty of the glass made in the Roman period gave it something of the value of precious stones; but cups and vases of all kinds were also cut out of more costly materials, like the beautiful agate vase which passed from the Devonshire collection to that of Baron Ferdinand Rothschild, and is now in the British

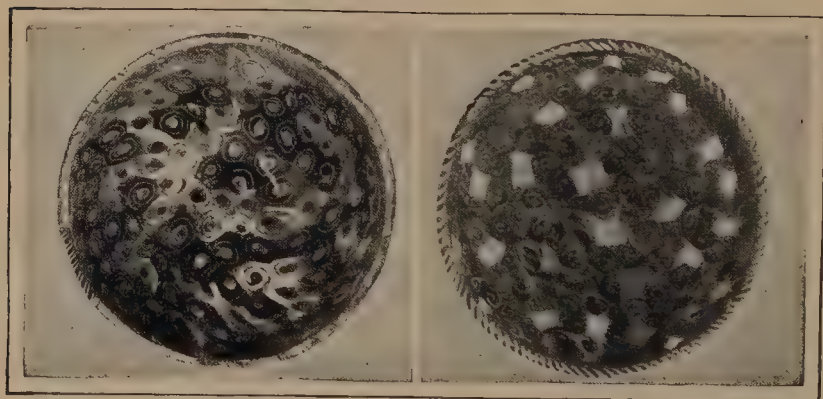


FIG. 319.—MYRRHINE VASES.  
(New York.)

## UNDATED WORKS

Museum (Fig. 320). Its decoration of leaves and branches recalls both the silver-work of Bosco Reale and the leaf-decked altar of the Terme.

§ 7. *Arretine Pottery*.—It remains to say a word about a beautiful if much humbler class of objects than those hitherto considered; namely, the deep red glaze pottery known as Arretine ware, from Arezzo, one of its chief centres of production. Its filiation—through Cales—from Megara and Samos has already been touched upon (Vol. I., p. 124). By the time of Augustus the products of the Arretine potteries seem entirely to have supplanted those of the older centres, and to have developed, moreover, an independent character. How much admired and popular Arretine ware was at the end of the first century may be gauged from Martial, who warns the Romans not to despise the wares of Arezzo (xiv., 98), and affirms that “the Arretine pot bewrays the crystal vase” (i., 54, 6). By abandoning the brilliant black varnish, which distinctly aimed at a metallic effect, in favour of the red glaze, the ware definitely emancipated itself from the imitation of metal chasing, merely retaining a connection



FIG. 320.—AGATE VASE.  
(British Museum.)



FIG. 321.—FRAGMENT OF ARRETINE VASE.  
(Arezzo.)

with the more aristocratic art in the style and subjects of the reliefs. These are drawn for the most part from the same repertory as those of the so-called mural terra-cotta slabs, and include mythological scenes, fantastic beings such as genii, victories, and winged Erotes, garlands and bucrania. There is scarcely a museum but possesses examples of these coveted lustrous potteries; there are superb pieces in the British Museum. Arezzo itself has

uniquely beautiful specimens, which have the added interest that they can be studied in connection with the place of their production. Two fine fragments from the museum at Arezzo are shown in Figs.

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321, 322. The newly-made collections of Arretine ware at Boston, and the Loeb collection of Arretine pottery, removed some years ago from Boston to New York, are also of the first order.



FIG. 322.—FRAGMENT OF ARRETINE VASE.  
(Arezzo.)

The Arretine potteries seem to have been at the height of their prosperity in the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods, but so energetic were other centres, notably in Gallia, in attempting to imitate them, that by the second century the latter had become successful competitors, and eventually supplanted their models. Yet in the sixth century A.D. the vases of Arezzo were still known, at least to literature; for we find them mentioned by Isidore of Seville (*sic Arretinæ violant crystallina testæ*).

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[Photo, Alinari.]

FIG. 323.—AMPHITHEATRE AT POLA.

## CHAPTER XIII

### ART UNDER THE FLAVIAN EMPERORS: BUILDING AND RELIGIOUS POLICY OF AUGUSTUS RESUMED.

UNDER the Flavian dynasty the Urbs underwent another radical transformation, itself the outcome of new religious and Imperial ideals which found expression in new architectural forms and strongly affected the plastic arts. "The age of the Flavians," as Rivoira points out, "has characteristics of its own, and stands out by the imposing scale of its buildings, which also show notable innovations both in plan and structure," but there was no real break with tradition. Changes were gradual and the reversal of Nero's building policy after his death was not as sudden as is generally represented. In the tragic year of the Four Emperors, Otho endeavoured to finish the Golden House. This may seem natural, as Otho was a friend of Nero, but Titus, according to his contemporary and panegyrist the elder Pliny, continued to occupy some part of the Domus. Moreover, the Flavian building schemes were largely inspired by the same religious considerations as those of Augustus, and, like Augustus, Vespasian began by restoring so many temples that he was given the title of *Restitutor Aedium Sacrarum*. Out of deference to Augustus he shifted the Imperial residence back to the Palatine. At the same time the new Imperial Palace planned there by Vespasian and finished by his son Domitian recalls Nero rather than Augustus, for though of smaller dimensions than the Golden House, it can hardly have been inferior to it in splendour, the Flavians wishing to

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make the Imperial residences on the Palatine a dominating feature of the *Urbs*. Vespasian further erected for himself a sumptuous residence within the Sallustian Gardens, but in order to effect a favourable contrast with the seclusion of the Golden House, he professed a desire that both park and palace should be thrown open to the public. This was a return to the public-spirited building policy of Agrippa and other benefactors in the Augustan principate. Vespasian was ably seconded by his two sons, Titus and Domitian, besides which he must have employed many architects, amongst whom the master-mind was presumably Rabirius, known from Martial (vii. 56; x. 71) as the architect of the Imperial residence on the Palatine.



FIG. 324.—THE COLOSSEUM. (DETAIL.)

§ 1. *The Colosseum and other Flavian Amphitheatres*.—To please the people, Vespasian decided on erecting the Flavian Amphitheatre or Colosseum on the site of one of Nero's artificial lakes. This, one of the earliest of the Flavian buildings, was begun by

Vespasian and inaugurated by Titus in A.D. 80 (Fig. 324). Though repeatedly plundered in modern times to provide the building material for Roman palaces, it still produces an impression of unimpaired majesty. The imposing mass was supported on a great platform below which, sunk deep into the soil, was a network of subterranean chambers. The great oval or ellipse has a circumference of 527 metres, it measures 188 metres along its main axis, 156 metres along the shorter; the enclosing walls rise to a height of 48.50 metres. The beauty of the structure can best be appreciated on the north side, which stands practically intact to its full height. The arches of the three arcaded storeys are flanked—as in the Theatre of Marcellus—by Tuscan columns on the lower tier, by Ionic on the central, and by Corinthian on the upper. The fourth storey, consisting of a closed wall pierced by windows over every second arch and divided by a Corinthian pilaster into as many divisions as there are arcades, was long regarded as an addition of the third century. The well-known coins of Titus show the amphitheatre with only three tiers, but according to the recent researches of v. Gerkan, this fourth storey, though no part of the

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original plan, is an "improvisation" introduced under the Flavians, probably by Domitian. The huge *cavea* was formed of receding concentric rings cut into at regular intervals by stairways. Convenient stairways led up to the seats, and divided the tiers into so many wedge-shaped blocks (*cunei*). In the Colosseum, stairs and staircases offer a first effective solution of a problem which had already exercised the Cretan architects, but which had been singularly neglected by the Greeks. Thus—as Koch has pointed out—it is to Italy and Rome that we owe the first serious advance in the creation of an architectural feature which in later centuries became characteristic of Western European art, and reached its most splendid development in the house and palace architecture of the Baroque period.

The impressive barrel-vaulting of the main corridors, the introduction of cross-vaulting in others, are equally worthy of note. Finally, statues presumably stood within the shadow of each arch, producing a chain of points of light. The main entrances on the north and south were reserved for the Emperor and his court; a few traces of their rich decoration, in the painted and gilded stucco brought into fashion in Nero's Golden House, may still be made out. From a slab with a figure of Apollo found on the site it seems probable that the galleries and boxes were decorated with sculpture (*Amelung*, Pl. 31, 2). The idea of an amphitheatre had long been familiar to the Romans: the double Theatre of Scaurus, for instance, was made to revolve on a pivot and join up so as to enclose an arena; but the interior of the Colosseum was more probably studied from the amphitheatres, long a feature of the Greek cities of Campania and Southern Italy. The oldest example seems to be the amphitheatre at Pompeii, which belongs to the Colonia Sullana. The grand remains of the amphitheatre at Capua are well known, and from the time of the Flavians onwards these buildings spring up all over the Empire; at Amiternum, near Aquila, where imposing remains are still to be seen; at Verona and at Pola (Fig. 323), whose amphitheatres stand almost intact; and on countless other sites. At Pozzuoli, it should be noted, the larger of the two amphitheatres discovered recently is of pure Flavian date.

§ 2. *The Temple of Claudius—The Forum of Vespasian—The Temple of Peace—the Baths of Titus.*—Terraced construction was a great feature of Flavian town-planning. On the Cœlian we may still admire the massive substructures that supported the terrace of the temple of the deified Claudius which had been little more than begun under Nero (Vol. I., p. 173), but which the Flavians pushed forward to completion. Nothing remains of the actual temple,

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but the grand blocks of tufa with rusticate surfaces that recall the Porta Maggiore (Fig. 191) are a striking feature of the substructure. The artificial platform was surrounded in the Flavian reconstruction (Suet., *Vesp.*, 9) by colonnades characteristic of Roman temple-planning.

*Claudia diffusas ubi porticus explicat umbras  
Ultima pars aulæ deficientis erat.*

(Martial, *Spect.*, ii. 9.)

On the north-east of the Roman Forum Vespasian spaced out a vast area surrounded by porticoes to serve as enclosure to his Temple of Peace. This Forum and its Temple were reckoned by contemporaries among the most imposing of the city; but scarcely a trace of them is left. The temple commemorated the conquest of Judæa; it was consecrated by Vespasian in A.D. 71, and finished three years later. This new glorification of peace presented itself as a sort of rival or counterpart of the *Ara Pacis* of Augustus. Besides the spoils from Jerusalem, which had been carried in the Emperor's triumph, the Temple of Peace contained numerous works of Greek art: "Ialysos" of Protogenes; "Scylla" of Nicomachus; the celebrated "Alexander and Darius"—a copy of which in mosaic had, as we have seen, been executed for Pompeii, etc. These were probably taken from Nero's Golden House, the shrewd Vespasian seeking, as usual, to court popular favour by dedicating to public use and enjoyment what his luckless predecessor was represented as having collected for his own gratification. On the south-east side, corresponding roughly with the church of SS. Cosma e Damiano, was a rectangular hall serving as a vestibule between the Forum Pacis and the Sacra Via; later, probably in the time of Septimius Severus, this entrance was closed and on the wall was fixed the huge marble plan of Rome, a copy of which, from the time of Septimius Severus, still survives in a fragmentary condition.

About the time that Titus finished the Colosseum he began to erect the Thermæ which bear his name on a neighbouring site to the north (the Oppian Hill), adjoining Nero's Golden House, part of which, at least, he occupied as his own residence. These Baths were in use as late as the fourth century, and enough survived until the sixteenth for drawings to be made by Palladio, but the actual remains are very scanty. They were on a comparatively small scale, but being constructed on the hill slope they were partly supported on an artificial terrace, the foundations of which may still be made out, together with those of a portico, which stood at the foot of a monumental flight of steps leading from the area



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by the Colosseum to the higher ground where the Baths themselves were situated. Of the apse of the central hall traces are still extant. These baths, which were small, must be kept quite distinct from the larger Thermæ begun by Domitian and finished by Trajan which covered the greater part of the site of Nero's Golden House. These later Domitianic Thermæ were celebrated by Martial (*de Spect.*, ii. 5-7), who refers to the swiftness with which they were built (*Hic ubi miramur velocia munera thermas*), so that they must have been a good way on to completion when Domitian died.

§ 3. *Flavian Arches*—*The Arch of Titus and the Arches erected by Domitian*.—In order to impress the imagination of the people with the grandeur that had accrued to Rome from her victories in Palestine, new arches and palaces arose everywhere.

Among these the arch that commemorated the triumph for the conquest of Judæa was begun by Vespasian but finished by his son Domitian, who may likewise have been responsible for another memorial of the Judaic victories; namely, the triple archway crowned with the statuary group of Vespasian and Titus, that formed the south entrance to the Circus Maximus. Titus, "joy of the human race," had only lived a year after his accession, so that Domitian found himself heir to the political and artistic aspirations of his family, and it is with his name that the art of the Flavian dynasty is indissolubly associated. With commendable piety he saw to the completion of the memorial arch for his father's and brother's Palestinian victories (Fig. 325). The decorative panels on each side of the archway represent the high-water mark of Flavian art. They illustrate two episodes of the triumphal procession: the Imperial cortège, and the group bearing the spoils from the Temple of Jerusalem. Here, sculpture in relief first borrowed from painting those effects of depth and atmosphere for which Flavian art has become famous. Illusionism, moreover, did not stop at relief, but affected sculpture in the round, and under its spell were produced masterpieces of naturalistic portraiture. It would be fantastic nowadays to follow Wickhoff in comparing these reliefs with the paintings of Rembrandt or Velasquez, yet a sense of spaciousness, of depth and

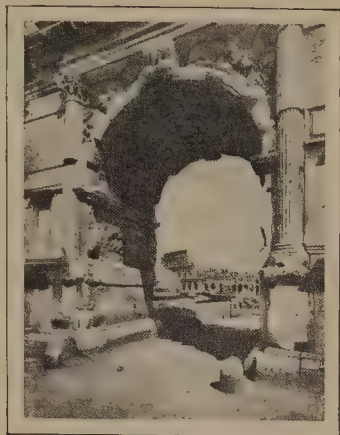


FIG. 325.—ARCH OF TITUS. (DETAIL.)

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of atmosphere unknown to previous art is conveyed here. In the one panel this is effected by showing the Emperor's chariot frontally, while the horses move in profile, so that the Imperial group appears as though it were coming



FIG. 326.—THE IMPERIAL CHARIOT. ARCH OF TITUS.

round a curve towards the spectator (Fig. 326); and in the other by so disposing the perspective of the arch represented as to suggest that the group of men who enter it are turning inwards (Fig. 327). The procession is thus conceived not as moving in a straight line, but as following the curve of a road. The heads of two lictors from the panel with the Imperial group illus-

trated in Fig. 328 exhibit Flavian relief in all its subtlety. The reliefs of the archway are much superior in technique to the little frieze of the arch, which reproduces a number of other episodes of the triumph; the image of the river-god Jordan borne on a stretcher, and groups of the victorious soldiery and of the conquered captives. Panels and frieze may alike derive from some large painted representation of the triumph, the execution of the more important reliefs being entrusted to better sculptors than was the frieze. It is, however, a violation of artistic unity to cut up a processional scheme into disconnected groups reproduced on a different scale and distributed on different parts of the same building. The interest aroused by the figure subjects of the arch and by the frieze should not make us forget the rich foliated ornament on the jambs, the fine coffering of the ceiling, the beautiful composite capitals, once thought to be the first of their kind. On the keystone of the vault is represented the apotheosis of Titus, borne aloft by the Imperial eagle (Sc. R., Fig. 74).

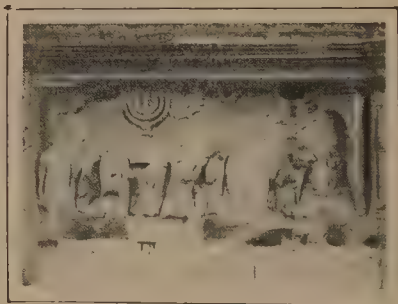


FIG. 327.—THE SPOILS OF THE TEMPLE. ARCH OF TITUS.

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The frequent appearance of arches on Domitian's coinage justifies the remark of Suetonius (Dom., xvii., that Domitian erected numerous triumphal arches "with trophies and chariots in relief"). One of these—a quadrifrontal *arcus* surmounted by a quadriga of elephants—is represented, it is thought, on a relief of the period of Marcus Aurelius (cf. below, p. 117 and *Sc. R.*, Fig. 158), while the two remarkable trophies (*Sc. R.*, Fig. 82) removed under Sixtus V from the nymphæum on the site of the present Piazza Vittorio Emanuele to the balustrade of the Capitol are good examples of the "trophies" referred to by Suetonius. The one has in front of it a female figure with hands bound behind her back; on either side of her is a winged youth, and at her feet are traces of the figures of two children—symbolic of the *proles* of the conquered people whom she personifies. The corresponding piece is more mutilated, but was of similar character. That these trophies originally formed a single monument in conjunction with a Victory of the Brescia type which itself belongs to the Flavian period is demonstrated not only by the well-known relief of a similar Victory flanked by trophies which marks off the first from the second Dacian war on Trajan's column, but also by a coin dating from the very beginning of the same Emperor's reign (Cohen 2. 247). The Capitol trophies probably commemorate Domitian's victories over the Germans in A.D. 85. To the same class of reliefs belongs the fragment in the Vatican of a triumphal procession with lictors and Roma at the head of a quadriga (*Sc. R.*, Pl. XXV.) claimed as Flavian, but already Trajanic in spirit.



FIG. 328.—HEADS OF LICTORS. ARCH OF TITUS.

§ 4. *The Temples erected by Domitian—His Monuments on the Campus Martius—The Forum Transitorium.*—Domitian's dynastic pride found expression in the completion of the temple erected at the foot of the Capitol—almost in a straight line from the Arch of Titus—to the deified Vespasian and Titus. According to the inscription it was restored by Septimius Severus and his son. The core of the great podium which supported the statues of the *divi*



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is still *in situ*; and the three standing columns of the south-west angle are a familiar landmark. The details of the architrave, which reproduce bucrania alternating with priestly insignia, are typically



FIG. 329.—FRIEZE OF TEMPLE OF VESPASIAN AND TITUS. (DETAIL.)

Flavian in the subtle knowledge shown of the problems of light and shade (Fig. 329), and also are significant as showing a fresh interest in liturgical accessories, arising out of the religiosity of the period. On the Campus Martius Domitian erected a large colonnaded enclosure to the deified members of his family known as the *Porticus Divorum*, and on the Quirinal arose by his care the celebrated *templum Gentis Flaviae*, which must have been

of the utmost splendour though even its site is now uncertain.

Domitian's piety was not only towards his own family; he was not unmindful of the protection accorded to him in the Vitellian riots by the Jupiter of the Capitol, to whom as *Custos* he erected a shrine, while one of his first cares as Emperor had been the restoration of the great temple which had been burnt down by the Vitellian soldiery. The work was entrusted to the illustrious Rabirius, the architect of the Flavian palace on the Palatine. The main lines of



FIG. 330.—PEDIMENT OF TEMPLE OF JUPITER CAPITOLINUS.

the Sullan temple were apparently adhered to; the subject of the pediment, preserved on a carved panel of the time of Marcus Aurelius, was doubtless traditional though it would be reproduced in the technique of the period (Fig. 330). In the centre Jupiter, with the eagle at his feet, appeared flanked

by his *paredroi* Juno and Minerva; on either side of the Triad were grouped various divinities with the chariots of Sol and Luna—in imitation perhaps of the Parthenon pediments; in the extreme



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corners reclining figures, generally explained as Tellus on the left and Father Tiber on the right, recalled the *Terra Mater* and the *Roma* of the Ara Pacis. The god's cultus-statue was a reproduction, possibly modernized, of that put up by Apollonius under Sulla.

While continuing the works planned by his father and brother he seems, like Nero, to have conceived the project of a new and more splendid Rome. Not content with the Thermæ of Titus, Domitian planned, as we have seen, the more extensive baths which were finished by Trajan. The Campus Martius was embellished: the mound known as the Monte Giordano is possibly formed by the ruins of Domitian's Odeion, a place for musical competitions; he restored the Pantheon in A.D. 80 after a fire, while the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva carries in its name the memory of a temple which Domitian erected on this site to his patron goddess; close by rose the Temple of Isis (the *Iseum*), whose cult, alternately encouraged and repressed by his predecessors, Domitian restored with special pomp, and in whose honour he also erected a temple at Benevento; in front of the *Iseum* stood, it is said, two obelisks of which one now stands on Bernini's elephant in the Piazza Minerva; another obelisk, made apparently at this time, and probably belonging to the precinct, now crowns Bernini's central fountain in the Piazza Navona; within the temple precinct might be seen the colossal statues of the Nile and of the Tiber, Flavian works possibly inspired by Hellenistic originals, and several Egyptian statues now in the Capitoline Museum, where may also be seen two of the temple columns (B.S.R.I., Pl. 90-92). These columns are adorned at their base with peculiarly interesting scenes from the cult of Isis, and a third column (lower part only), which found its way to Florence, has carved upon it an episode of the Isiac procession. South of the *Iseum* and within the same precinct rose, again by the care of Domitian, a temple to Sarapis, on a plan afterwards imitated for the Serapeum of the Villa of Hadrian. Finally, he erected here the *Porticus Divorum* already alluded to above.

The line of the Imperial fora was likewise continued by Domitian, who probably took the first steps towards transforming into a Forum the depression between Esquiline and Capitol in which afterwards rose the Forum of Trajan. He is likewise responsible for the Forum, dedicated by his successor Nerva, after whom it was named. This Forum—also known as Transitorium, since it was little more than a passage traversed by the broad Argiletum—reveals the ingenuity of Domitian's architect Rabirius in dealing with a difficult and irregular piece of ground (Fig. 331). The Forum was laid out, in default of more space, as trapezoidal; it was enclosed by a

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high wall richly decorated on the inside with a row of projecting columns, much as in the later Forum of Trajan. A portion of the rich entablature still stands in the *Via Alessandrina*. The high attic is adorned within each of its recesses by an image of Minerva, to whom the Forum was dedicated (Fig. 332). What remains of the frieze is of great beauty, though the subjects have never yet been

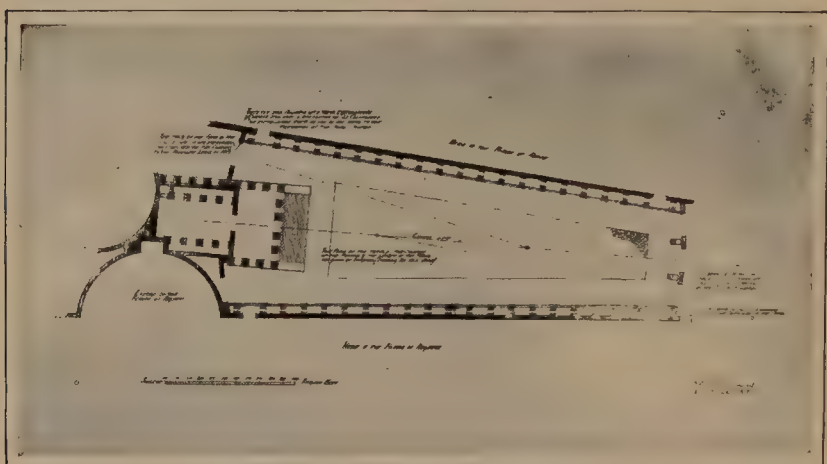


FIG. 331.—FORUM OF (DOMITIAN) NERVA.  
(Plan by J. S. Beaumont.)

satisfactorily interpreted (Fig. 333); some are evidently mythological, others appear to be scenes of initiation. The composition is full of vigour and animation, and shows numerous original motives.

Certain details resemble the architectural enrichments of the state apartments of the Flavian Palace. The temple with six Corinthian columns which rested against the north end wall of the Forum was dedicated to Minerva. It stood down to the Pontificate of Paul V, when the architects of the Acqua Paola on the Gianicolo pulled it down for the sake of the building material, but many artists had sketched it in the earlier Renaissance.



FIG. 332.—MINERVA FROM  
ATTIC OF FORUM OF  
(DOMITIAN) NERVA.

§ 5. *The Domus Flavia on the Palatine—The Alban Villa.*—Domitian's most lasting enterprise was the completion, possibly on new and revised plans, of the palace on the

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Palatine begun by his father. This palace covered, in part at least, certain mansions of the Julio-Claudian dynasty; it consisted of three distinct blocks—a central *corps de logis* with two projecting wings. The central part was the Imperial residence, the left wing the official reception-rooms, and the right a sunk and enclosed garden with its appendages.

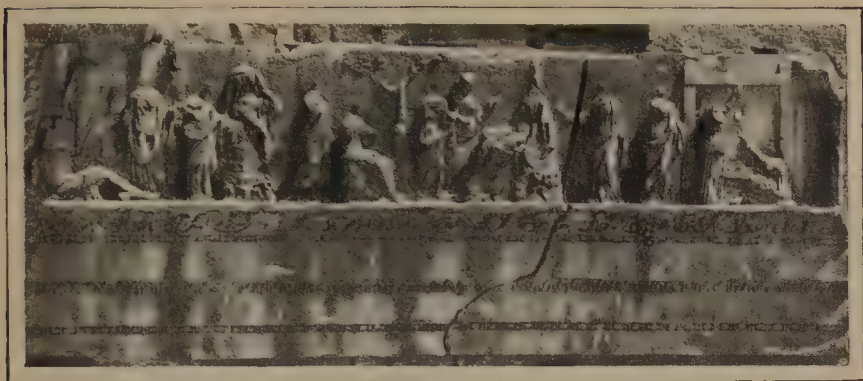


FIG. 333.—FRIEZE FROM FORUM OF (DOMITIAN) NERVA. (DETAIL.)

The Emperor's private residence, still partly concealed under the Villa Mills, was concentrated on the N.W. side of an inner colonnaded quadrangle; part of it was excavated as far back as 1862, and has since then been known as the *Domus Augustana*. On a level with the court are three chambers with cupola roofs, where a first attempt was made in Rome to suspend a dome over a square or octagonal structure by means of raccords or pendentives (Fig. 334). On the east a long sunk garden, of the kind which the younger Pliny, in the description of his villa, calls a "hippodrome," separated the main block of buildings from the extension on the south, which was continued under Hadrian and the Severi. This sunk garden was

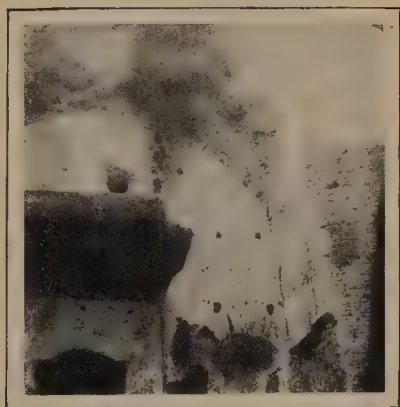


FIG. 334.—PENDENTIVES IN DOMUS FLAVIA.

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filled with works of art, now scattered to all corners of Europe.

The larger and more celebrated official palace in the centre of the hill, known more especially as the *Domus Flavia* (Fig. 335), consisted of two great blocks of state-rooms separated by an open peristyle. All the apartments are of colossal proportions, as befits a palace intended only for the transaction of business or for official pageants and receptions. The approach to the N.E. or principal

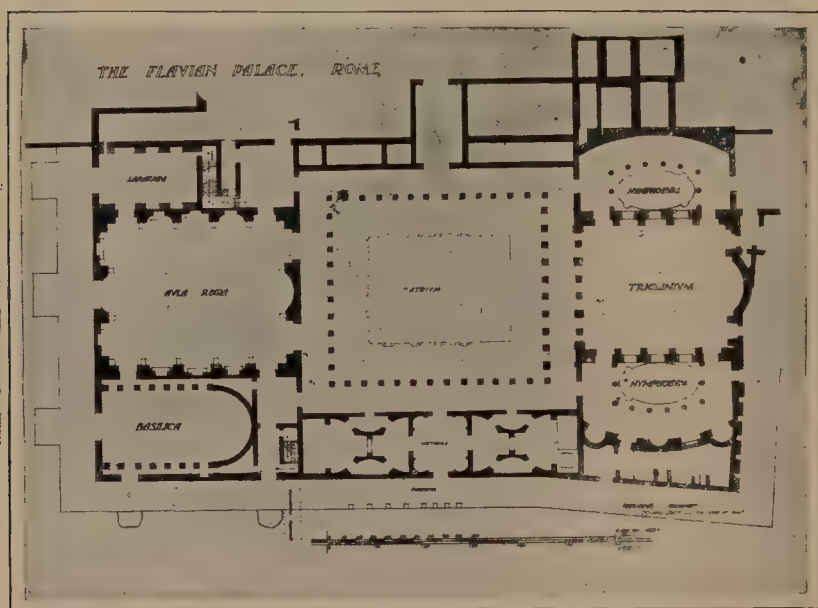


FIG. 335.—STATE-ROOMS OF THE FLAVIAN PALACE.  
(Plan by Gordon Leith.)

group of rooms was by a broad flight of steps across a threshold made of one single block of marble. The three main rooms situated here opened on to a colonnade which was surmounted in the centre by a pediment. The so-called "basilica" on the right was divided into nave and aisles by two storeys of columns which carried the huge flat coffered ceiling. The central hall or throne-room was a large vaulted structure, buttressed by the chambers on either side of it. Its long walls were divided into three recesses, alternatively rectangular and apsed, forming chapel-like niches framed by columns of porphyry and crowned by a pediment. Between each recess were



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pillars faced by columns of pavonazzetto, sixteen in all. Within each niche, on a podium the core of which is still visible, stood statues of black basalt copied from Greek masterpieces; two of these, a Hercules and a Bacchus, are in the museum of Parma. On the north side a door opened on to the entrance portico, while the Emperor's throne occupied the apsed recess opposite. The huge barrel-vault, one of the largest known, was richly coffered; and the marble frieze—enriched with trophies in allusion to Domitian's triumphs over Dacians and Chatti—matched it in splendour. Beyond the throne-room was the *lararium* or chapel of the Imperial *lares*. The large peristyle was surrounded by columns of Porta Santa marble, and enclosed an elegant octagonal fountain which served as *impluvium*. S. of the peristyle again was the beautiful *triclinium* or state dining-room, flanked on each side by cool and picturesque *nymphæa*. The Flavian palace was the work of Domitian's architect Rabirius, who, apparently, brought all the other Palatine structures into harmony with his great creation, either by rebuilding or by altering in the style of the period: brick stamps and building materials alike show that the edifice on the north-west spur, for instance, long known as the Palace of Tiberius, must have been remodelled in the reign of Domitian. Moreover, the vast hall at the foot of the Palatine (sometimes known, but erroneously, as the Temple of Augustus) was built by Rabirius to form the monumental entrance to the palace on this side. The huge span of its barrel-vault rivalled that of the throne-room. Rabirius is known to us solely from Martial, whose friend he seems to have been (x. 71). From the celebrated epigram (vii. 56: *Astra polumque pia percepsti mente Rabiri*) there can be no doubt that he was the architect of Domitian's Palatine residence; and it is reasonable to suppose that this important work was assigned to him because of earlier achievements that had brought him into prominence; in fact it is generally assumed that he was architect in charge of the Flavian building enterprises.

The *Domus Flavia* of the Palatine had a worthy rival in the magnificent villa which Domitian erected near the ancient site of Alba Longa on the slopes of the hill descending from the Alban lake westward of the Via Appia. This villa was in the nature of an Imperial domain, whose palace, with its colonnades, theatre and hippodrome, anticipated the splendour of Hadrian's villa at Tivoli. The site required that the building should be disposed in terraces, a favourite arrangement with Roman architects, as we see from the villa of Voconius Pollio at Tusculum, that of Tiberius at Capri, and from numerous Pompeian landscapes. The middle terrace was

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occupied by the main block of the palace. It had more than one storey, as the remains of stairs indicate, and the general plan resembled that of the contemporary *domus* on the Palatine. A

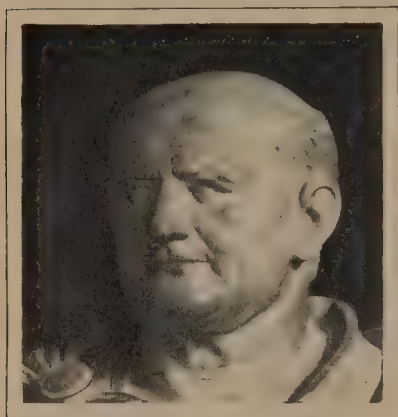


FIG. 336.—VESPASIAN.  
(Florence.)

cryptoporticus about 120 metres long by 7.45 wide, the largest in Rome or its neighbourhood, ran along the lowest terrace, parallel to the *nymphæa*, and formed a part of the retaining wall to the platform stretching from the theatre to the palace. In the theatre corridor were admirable stuccoes and a finely executed frieze painted in perspective. There were also numerous buildings in the grounds, including a garden-hippodrome, a circular nymphæum with four niches, now transformed into one of the churches of Albano, and an amphitheatre. The villa remained

the most important country retreat of the Roman Emperors until it was supplanted by the work of Hadrian at Tivoli. It was deprived of most of its park by Septimius Severus during the construction of

his camp, and gradually decaying became a quarry for the builders of Albano.



FIG. 337.—STATUE OF  
TITUS.  
(Vatican.)

§ 6. *Flavian Portraiture*.—In portraiture Flavian art attained the same high level as in relief. Of the astute and kindly Vespasian there are fine portraits, in Florence (Fig. 336) and the Terme (Sc. R., Fig. 70). Another Flavian portrait—more pretentious but not less plebeian—is that of Titus. His statue in the Braccio Nuovo of the



FIG. 338.—STATUE OF  
JULIA, DAUGHTER OF  
TITUS.  
(Vatican.)

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Vatican still has for pendant that of his daughter Julia (Figs. 337, 338). Domitian's splendid equestrian statue of gilt bronze in the Forum was destroyed at his death—even the memory of its site being effaced—and such too was the fate of many of his portraits. Of those which have survived, the best are undoubtedly the statue of the Braccio Nuovo, the splendid head in the Museo Mussolini (Fig. 339), and the head discovered at Pergamon: the features are proud and well-cut, the eyes keen, the lips firm and full. The aristocratic face contrasts oddly with the stolid squareness of his father and brother. There is a noteworthy reminiscence of Nero in the turn of the head and the treatment of the hair. The male portraits of the period are distinguished by the shape of the bust, which now includes



FIG. 339.—DOMITIAN.  
(Museo Mussolini.)

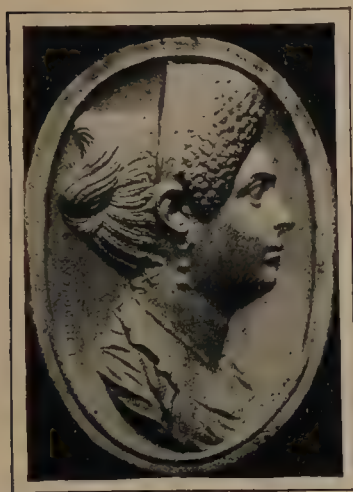


FIG. 340.—JULIA, D. OF TITUS.  
CAMEO.  
(Paris.)

the breast and shoulders. A characteristic example of Flavian portraiture is afforded by the celebrated bust in the Conservatori of the shoemaker, C. Julius Helius, within his sepulchral *ædicula* (*Sc. R.*, Fig. 223). The hair is treated in a variety of ways, varying from the loose clustering locks of the so-called Antony of the Vatican (*Sc. R.*, Fig. 225) to the soft close curls of the wonderful nameless portrait in the Uffizi (Hekler 227). The male bust with a snake round the waist from the monument of the Haterii (*Sc. R.*, Fig. 226); the unknown Roman at Copenhagen (Hekler 221), and the admirable head at Boston (Hekler 229): are only a few of the countless Flavian portraits

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that deserve the careful attention of every student. Female portraiture likewise reached a high level of excellence. Julia, celebrated



FIG. 341.—A COURT BEAUTY OF THE FLAVIAN EPOCH.  
(Capitol.)

for her charm and for her intrigue with her uncle Domitian, is represented by two accredited portraits, the Cameo of the Cabinet des Médailles (Fig. 340) and the Vatican statue mentioned above. In neither can she be called beautiful, but she has both grace and distinction, and a resolute, energetic countenance.

The coiffure, a high toupet of curls mounted on wire, is characteristic of the time.

One of the finest of these Flavian female portraits is in the Capitol. It is that of a lady at the height of her youth and beauty, and in the full consciousness of her power (Fig. 341); model and artist are alike unknown, but each was worthy of the other. The highly-bred woman with delicate well-drawn features, softened by a pensive melancholy, racial perhaps rather than personal, found a sculptor capable of rendering her peculiar qualities of form and mind. This accomplished woman of the world seems to claim sisterhood with the great ladies of Gainsborough and Reynolds. A new note is struck in the poise of the dainty head, in the turn of the slender throat; a secret discovered for one moment, to be lost to art through all the changes of the Empire, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and recovered in the graceful and self-conscious period that preceded the French Revolution. To the same courtly circle belong the so-called Julia at Florence, an exquisite



FIG. 342.—BRONZE BUST OF BOY.  
(Seligmann Coll., Paris.)

conscious period that preceded the French Revolution. To the same courtly circle belong the so-called Julia at Florence, an exquisite



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portrait with something of the same tricks of pose and treatment as the lady of the Capitol, and the group of a lady and her little daughter at Chatsworth (*Sc. R.*, Fig. 227). The elaborate coiffures differentiate the ladies of the court circles from those of the bourgeoisie, who, like the old lady in the Terme (*Sc. R.*, Fig. 228), seem to have worn their hair parted and waved to the sides. The tombstone of Claudius Agathemerus and his wife (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) provides us with a strong example of Flavian portraiture (*Poulsen*, Fig. 41). The portraiture of children likewise kept at a high level. With the portrait of the little girl who stands with such aristocratic bearing by her mother in the beautiful group at Chatsworth we should compare the portrait at the Conservatori of Q. Sulpicius Maximus. The boy, who is seen within his sepulchral *ædícula*, died of overwork at the age of eleven, the victim of his own or his elders' pedantry, after writing a lengthy poem (inscribed on his monument), on the anger of Zeus against Apollo for allowing Phaethon the use of his chariot. Slightly later in date, and veering in style towards the Trajanic, is the bronze head of a boy, in the Seligmann Collection, remarkable for the precision of its outline, the beauty of the hair, the firmness of the modelling—the quality of illusionism being naturally less marked in bronze than in marble (Fig. 342).

§ 7. *Decorated Altars, Reliefs and Copies of Greek Statues.*—Flavian sepulchral art may be studied in numerous votive and sepulchral altars; the altar in the Cortile del Belvedere, supported by magnificent sphinxes and displaying on its front face the seated portrait of the deceased (*Sc. R.*, Fig. 78); the altars of Julia Procula at the Uffizi (*Sc. R.*, Fig. 79) and of Atia Jucunda in the Terme (H.A. 1456); the curious monument in the Villa Albani of the fifteen-year-old Quintus Cæcilius Ferox, who was priest of Vespasian



FIG. 343.—FUNERAL AND APOTHEOSIS.  
MONUMENT OF HATERII.  
(Lateran.)



FIG. 344.—ROSE-PIL-  
LAR. MONUMENT  
OF HATERII.  
(Lateran.)

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and of Titus (H.A. 1906); the beautiful recumbent figure of Ulpia Epigone in the Lateran (*Sc. R.*, Pl. XXIII), are only a few examples taken at random out of many to show how rich and varied was the output. In many of these sepulchral sculptures the traditional leaves and garlands often appear to be swayed by the air; the now celebrated "Rose Pillar" (Fig. 344), and the relief of lemons and quinces from the tomb of the Haterii, in the Lateran (*Sc. R.*, Figs. 75, 76) are striking examples of this illusionism. But the same monument also offers examples of an older and harder workmanship in the slabs with crowded funeral scenes (Fig. 343). These funeral

scenes have a further interest owing to the emphasis laid on the ritual of the tomb, the apotheosis of the dead, the promise of an after-life. Of the many votive sacrificial altars the loveliest is the one at Pompeii, in front of the temple of Vespasian, showing the Emperor in the familiar libation scene; the grouping is effective, the



FIG. 345.—THE SUOVETAURILIA. RELIEF IN LOUVRE.

looped-up hangings and the festal garlands are treated with incomparable freshness.

Among reliefs attributed to the Flavian period, though the monuments to which they belonged are unknown, is the stately slab in the Louvre, showing the procession of the Suovetaurilia (Fig. 345). The head of the officiating Emperor seems to resemble Domitian. The modelling of the figures, their arrangement in space, resemble the panels of the Arch of Titus. The two trees and the garlands of the altar remind us of the treatment of foliage on Flavian altars, whilst the sacrificial animals worthily open a series which includes the stately bull, ram and pig of the so-called *Anaglypha Traiani* (p. 72) and the bulls and other animals of the Column of Trajan. Another piece which we may reckon as Flavian, and as coming from some building of the period, is the fragment of a relief with a battle of Romans and barbarians, in Mantua.<sup>1</sup>

The copies after Greek works likewise were of unusual beauty.

<sup>1</sup> This relief, once held to be republican and to have decorated the Forum of Cæsar, is evidently of later date. Recently it was claimed as Julio-Claudian, and more recently again as Flavian (by Sieveking).

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A terminal bearded Hermes in the Lateran, evidently after an original of the Pheidian circle, was found, it is said, not far from the tomb of the Valerii on the Latin Way, on the site of a building with Domitianic brick stamps (H.A. 1201). We may also note the portrait statue of a girl in the Villa Borghese, with distinctly Flavian head, though the body is imitated from a Greek work of the fourth century (H.A. 1554). A double herm of Heracles in the possession of Princess Venosa, found at Albano on ground belonging to Domitian's villa, reproduces a magnificent Heracles type of Skopadic character. Finally, the winged Minerva from Ostia, a Flavian adaptation of a Greek model of the fifth century, recalls, in form and design, the Minerva of the Forum Transitorium (Sc. R., Pl. XXII), and like it was apparently intended to decorate a high attic.



FIG. 346.—WALL-PAINTING NEAR "BRIDGE OF CALIGULA," PALATINE.

§ 8. *Painting under the Flavians.*—Little remains of Flavian painting beyond its bare record. In a part of Caligula's Palatine residence, transformed under Domitian into a guard-room, considerable traces of paintings, attributed to his period, have been recovered (Fig. 346). We hear of wall-paintings executed by two painters of the names of Attius Priscus and Cornelius Pinus in the Temple of Honos and Virtus after its restoration under Vespasian, but the subjects are not recorded. The Palestinian victories evidently gave a great impetus to painting; and the pictures carried in the triumphal pageant moved Josephus to descriptions which could only be inspired by striking works of art. The great Jewish writer dwells especially on their dramatic quality: on the desolate landscape, the terror-stricken population, the besieged cities, the burning temples, the rivers that no longer flow through tilled places with cattle drinking at the water's edge, but into a land of flame and massacre (*de Bello Jud.*, VII., 143). Josephus's reference to the rivers recalls the more peaceful themes of the landscapes of the last Pompeian style, and of the low reliefs, with scenes of fishing, pasturage and of river life, that adorn the plinths of the Tiber and of the Nile from the *Iseum* (above, p. 57).

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It is to the close of the Flavian period or to the early years of the Trajanic that we should ascribe the altar-piece of the Mithræum discovered in 1922 near to Capua, where a picture takes the place of the more usual relief. The cult being Persian in its origin, it is not surprising that the colouring has a strongly Oriental character. The colours are boldly juxtaposed without the intervention of broken tints. Mithras wears brilliant red hose and doublet with blue-green stripes, a red Phrygian cap with yellow and green ornament, and a red cloak lined with bright blue and stellated, as becomes a sun-god



FIG. 347.—MITHRAIC ALTAR-PIECE.  
(Capua.)

who has a right to the mantle of heaven; the bull is pure white with red tongue, and all the accessory personages and animals have the colour judged appropriate to them (Fig. 347). Along the lateral wall of the Mithræum, moreover, above the benches for the *mystæ*, are painted a series of scenes of initiation which, though of little significance as paint-

ings, are of unique value for our knowledge of the Mithraic ritual. The bull of the altar-piece is a fine piece of drawing, and stands comparison with the bulls of the column of Trajan.

We must not forget that the earliest paintings of the catacombs make their appearance about this time or very little later. For a long time Christian art accepts pagan motives, capable of Christian interpretation. In the catacomb of Domitilla—a princess of the Flavian house—the pagan motives of Cupid and Psyche, and of Cupid gathering flowers, symbolize the Christian resurrection and Paradise; while the Christian Good Shepherd is scarcely, if at all, differentiated from that of Orphic mythology.

§ 9. *Flavian Tombs and Buildings outside Rome.*—Of the many splendid tombs of the Flavian period, that of Priscilla on the Appian Way must have been a typical example. A square base supported a high cylindrical structure adorned with a continuous series of thirteen niches and surmounted by a cupola. The niches were remarkable as projecting inwards from the wall instead of being cut within its thickness. On the pedestal still visible inside the tomb presumably stood one of the statues of the “deified” Priscilla,



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described by Statius in the poem he addressed to the bereaved husband.

In Italy the building activity was no less than in Rome. We have alluded to the great amphitheatres of the period; the beautiful Corinthian temple at Brescia (Brixia) is worthy of Rome, and shows in the delicate quality of its capitals and other architectural remains the characteristic Flavian touch. The fragments of the frieze recall those of the throne-room on the Palatine; the temple, which has three cellas, was probably dedicated to the Capitoline Triad. Here also was found the celebrated bronze Victory (*Sc. R.*, Pl. XXVIII), a Flavian adaptation of a Greek model which deserves to rank with the winged Minerva of Ostia and that of the Forum of Domitian. We have already seen that this figure was probably part of a composition in which it appeared—as on the relief of the Trajan column—between two trophies.

Vespasian has been called by Rostowzew “a good pupil and a faithful follower of the policy of Augustus.” Nowhere was this more evident, as I have tried to indicate above, than in the Vespasianic building programme, which began with the restoration of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. But what was accomplished by his son Domitian in a reign of fourteen years was forgotten or discredited. Domitian really set himself to work out the views of his father, but possibly with less prudence and restraint; so that what in the father had been a cautious assertion of the autocratic principle tends to degenerate in the son into a semblance of tyranny. Domitian incurred the hatred of the Senate whom he abased; of the Christians whom he persecuted; of the philosophers whom he banished; and all these in turn contributed interpretations of his character which have passed into history. Tacitus, the brilliant but unscrupulous historian from whom Domitian deserved nothing but gratitude, held up the Emperor to execration out of family and personal pique, while Dion Chrysostom, as spokesman of the philosophers’ party, made Domitian a foil to the virtuous Trajan, and showed him up as typical tyrant in opposition to the god-chosen monarch (cf. Rostowzew, *op. cit.*, p. 112 ff.). Like Nero, Domitian was transformed into a monster for the benefit of posterity; nothing that his Principate had produced was thought deserving of praise, and it required the penetrating criticism of Wickhoff, as to the merits of Flavian portraiture and sculpture in relief, to startle historians and art-critics into appreciation of its greatness.

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FIG. 348.—ARCH OF TRAJAN AT BENEVENTO.  
(Detail of spandrels and frieze.)

## CHAPTER XIV

### ART UNDER TRAJAN (A.D. 98-117): NEW MILITARY AND IMPERIAL INFLUENCES.

FORTUNATELY the course of art was not as seriously affected as might be supposed by the changes that attended the fall of Domitian. Much that he had planned but left unfinished was continued by his successors: his memory had been cursed, his monuments desecrated after his death, but his building policy was pushed forward by Trajan, who was able to give permanence to many of the Flavian projects. Under his Principate the union between town planning, architecture and sculpture was of the closest. The period was one of unparalleled building activity; whole districts of the *urbs*, in some instances already marked out by the Flavians, were remodelled as the site of splendid buildings. In Italy outside Rome Imperial monuments were everywhere erected, and in the provinces outside Italy whole cities sprang up with a lightning rapidity worthy of modern America.

It must also be remembered that Trajan, as the authors repeatedly testify, was in many instances completing works actually begun by his great predecessor Domitian. We have already spoken of the splendid Baths begun by Domitian, and completed by Trajan, and of their great importance as having provided the model for all subsequent erections of the kind. Again, it is impossible to overlook a certain relationship between the frieze of the Forum Transitorium and the reliefs of the balustrades in the Roman Forum, usually

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referred to the age of Trajan (*anaglypha Traiani*), to whose early period they probably belong;<sup>1</sup> after all only the single year of



FIG. 349.—EMPEROR MAKING PROCLAMATION  
FOR RELIEF OF POOR CHILDREN.  
(Roman Forum.)

Nerva's principate separates Domitian from Trajan. One of the reliefs represents an Emperor making a proclamation from the Rostra to the assembled citizens; the second shows the destruction of tablets in presence of an Emperor. On the first relief (Fig. 349) the statuary group of Italia personified as a gracious woman, leading one child by the hand and carrying another, is probably a thanks-

giving for the founding of some charitable institution for poor children (*alimenta*); while the scene of the companion relief, on which the soldiers bring up books to be burnt in presence of the Emperor, refers to a remission of taxes for the relief of the provincials. Both scenes are shown against an architectural background that takes in the principal buildings on the north and west of the Forum, with the ancient statue of Marsyas under the fig tree (Vol. I., p. 69). Both slabs are decorated externally with the bull, the ram and the pig of the *Suovetaurilia*, treated with the usual mastery (Fig. 350).

§ 1. *The Forum of Trajan.*—In Rome Trajan's memory is indissolubly connected with the splendid Forum and the column that bear his name. As Domitian had found in Rabirius the genius who could give expression to his projects for the rebuilding of Rome, so Trajan found a kindred spirit in the celebrated Apollodorus of



FIG. 350.—VICTIMS OF THE SUOVETAURILIA.

<sup>1</sup> Certain scholars tend to consider the *anaglypha* to be early Hadrianic; cf. Rostowzew, who compares the Hadrianic coins (*S.E.H.*, Pl. LII., *c* and *d*). This view is ably upheld by M. Seston, of the French School in Rome, in *Mélanges*, xlv., 1927.



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Damascus. Apollodorus, who was both architect and engineer, laid out for Trajan in the valley between Quirinal and Capitol the last and most imposing of the Imperial fora. The area covered by its building alone nearly equalled that of all the other Fora put together. Seeing how great had been the town-planning ambitions of the Flavian dynasty, it seems unlikely that this site should not already have been singled out by Domitian, who found little scope for a monumental Forum in the narrow strip known as the Forum Transitorium (above, p. 57). What is now excavated is only about one-sixth of the whole Trajanic enclosure. Considerable remains are still extant—the east and west ends of the basilica, the grand exedrae of the enclosing wall—long hidden under modern streets or built into the modern houses. The scheme for freeing this and other Imperial fora is progressing and the eastern hemisphere is already disengaged. Its orientation was from N.W. to S.E. At the lower or southern end was the entrance,<sup>1</sup> through a grandiose single archway adorned in genuinely Roman fashion with medallions containing portrait busts, and crowned by the Imperial *quadriga* and a multitude of accessory statues. This arch was erected in A.D. 117, the year of Trajan's death, as a record of his Dacian victories. There were smaller single arches on either side, and the three entrances corresponded to the three entrances of the Basilica Ulpia. Like the Roman Forum, that of Trajan was a place for the transaction of business, combining various public buildings: exedrae, a basilica, libraries, the temple dedicated to Trajan and the column which, though an afterthought, remains as solitary witness to this grandeur. The Forum was enclosed by a high wall. The southern enclosure at least was adorned on the inside by an attic and by columns projecting slightly in front of the enclosing wall, on the same principle as the Forum Transitorium (another link between Domitian and Trajan). The attic was adorned with a frieze of griffins and cupids, fragments of which are in the Lateran (Fig. 351). According to a current opinion an imposing frieze representing battle scenes, warlike episodes and the victorious return of an Emperor led by Roma and crowned by Victory, the whole linked together in the "continuous" manner characteristic of Flavio-Trajanic relief (Sc. R., Pl. XLVII., XLVIII.), ran round the enclosing wall, fragments of this frieze being later transferred to the archway and to the attic of the Arch of Constantine; while another is in the

<sup>1</sup> In Rome a triumphal arch serves as an entrance in two other instances only, that of the Circus Maximus and of the precinct of the Palatine Apollo, though in the provinces this form of entrance was common to large public squares of every description.

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Louvre, another walled into the front of the Villa Medici (*Sc. R.*, Figs. 92 and 93). But this attribution must be considered uncertain,



FIG. 351.—FRIEZE FROM FORUM OF TRAJAN. (Detail.)  
(Lateran.)

since the Forum was presumably intact at the time of the Emperor Constantius's visit in 356, when its treasures and its splendours aroused his enthusiasm. Large sculptures could not have been removed from the walls without seriously damaging the whole effect. On each long side of the vast court the wall was broken into by a great exedra or

hemicycle, the walls of which were adorned with niches closed in by a row of Doric columns. In these hemicycles, which are still partially extant, brickwork decoration, which became common in the Antonine period, is used with excellent effect, as Lugli points out in his description of the remains of the E. hemicycle.

"Here we should notice the fineness of the brick decoration that outlines all the architectural motives, such as the mouldings that frame the arches; the pilasters and engaged columns that support broken pediments, while delicately modelled niches frame the smaller windows of the upper storey. It is the beginning of a new style of architectural decoration, heralding the brick technique which became common under the Antonines, and furnished a number of architectural motives that were extensively developed by the Roman Baroque." (Lugli, tr. G. Bagnani.)

Similar brickwork and decorative details may also be noted in the beautiful *Amphitheatrum Castrense* to the right of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, assigned by Ashby, on the evidence of the brick-stamps, to the period of Trajan. The vast enclosure of Trajan's Forum was divided by the Basilica Ulpia into a forecourt on the south and a smaller court on the north. The actual basilica glittered with many-coloured marbles and had an apse at either end, an arrangement found also at Silchester in Britain. In the centre of the forecourt stood an equestrian statue of the Emperor, doubtless in a scheme already familiar from that of Domitian and to be repeated in the statue of Marcus Aurelius; the surrounding colonnades were, like those of the Forum of Augustus, filled with statues of great men. Besides these, statues of barbarian captives adorned the Forum, some of which were removed to the attic

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of the Arch of Constantine (?); the heads of two others are in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican (Figs. 352, 353). The one illustrated in Fig. 353 has recently been identified as a portrait of the Dacian chief Decebalus, from its likeness to his portraits on the Trajanic column (Fig. 354). This type of statue was apparently popular; a third example in the Braccio Nuovo (Fig. 355) is said to come from *Portus Traiani*, the new harbour of Ostia. North of the basilica were the Greek and Latin libraries; between these rose the column to be described presently. After Trajan's death the north side of the Forum was occupied by a temple to the deified Emperor, erected, and it seems also designed, by his adopted son and successor, Hadrian, who inscribed it with his name.

§ 2. *The Column of Trajan.*—When the Forum was already built, or at any rate long after its main lines had been settled, it was decided to introduce into it a memorial of the Dacian campaigns, which had ended in the complete victory of the Roman arms and in the



FIG. 352.—HEAD OF DACIAN.  
(Vatican.)

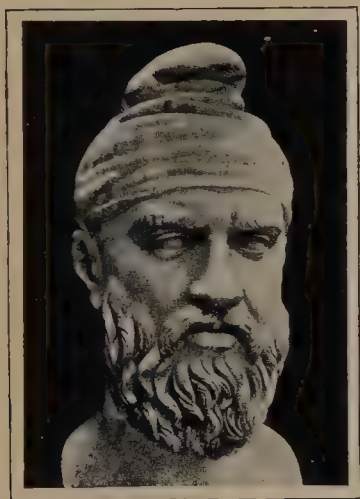


FIG. 353.—HEAD OF DECEBALUS (?).  
(Vatican.)



FIG. 354.—HEAD OF DECEBALUS.  
(Column of Trajan.)

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subjection of Dacia to Roman rule. Every available inch of wall space being already covered with sculpture, a spiral column a hundred feet high was introduced into the square between the two libraries. Such a column offered the double advantage of occupying the minimum of space and of offering in the twenty-four windings of its spiral a maximum of surface upon which to unfold the long

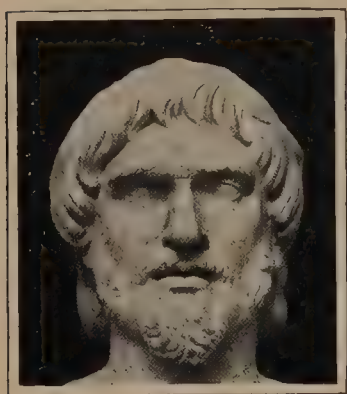


FIG. 355.—HEAD OF BARBARIAN FROM  
PORTUS TRAIANUS (OSTIA)  
(Vatican.)

series of events of two protracted campaigns. The architect who conceived this grandiose idea found his match in the artist who executed the design for the frieze. Decorated columns, like that of Nero at Mainz, had been seen before—were, in fact, a typically Roman monument—while camp and battle scenes, sacrificial scenes, representations of the storming of cities, of troops on the march, or of the surrender of enemies were all part of an old stock which was handed down from generation to generation and transformed according to the necessities of the time. But the Trajanic artists gave a fresh solution of old problems, and conceived

of a column on a scale so vast as to afford space to hold the panoramic display of the two campaigns on a continuous frieze that winds up a column in twenty-two spirals.

The grandiose scheme was not carried out without difficulties. As we know it now, the column is an *ex voto* of Trajan, whose statue of gilded bronze once stood on the summit of the column, and whose ashes, with those of his consort Plotina, were deposited in a sepulchral chamber in the base. Yet according to the investigations of Lehmann-Hartleben, the chamber and the spiral staircase leading to the summit were not part of the original plan, the change being made before the column was actually built, though *after the design for the frieze was complete*. Since the window slits giving light to the staircase cut into the frieze without regard to the composition, it seems reasonable to suppose that these were contrived before the frieze itself was carved upon the column. The windows are part of the second scheme, and the frieze, already designed but not yet carved, was applied to the shaft without regard to them.

The coins with spiral column and eagle, presumably struck immediately after the close of the war in 110, clearly show the



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existence of the first project, which, however, was not carried out because another project intervened. This must have been the result of a request or order from the Emperor, to transform the memorial of his greatest military exploit into the funeral monument of himself and his consort. It was then that the statue of Trajan replaced the eagle of the original project, that the sepulchral chamber was planned inside the pedestal, and that the inscription on the pedestal was carved in its present form. The meaning of this inscription remains difficult (*C.I.L.* vi. 960 = Dessau 294). It was long believed to signify that great engineering works had been needed to level a whole mountain of earth where afterwards stood the column. This interpretation, however, evidently arose from a misunderstanding; traces of older habitations having been discovered beneath the site of the column, and of a road with paving blocks of Republican date, which ran through what had probably been a depression between the two hills. Possibly the inscription embodies the two projects: that of the Senate to erect the column for the war, and the alteration needed when the column was turned at Trajan's bidding into the Emperor's burying-place. The two concluding lines remain mysterious, and may, as recently suggested, be part of the original decree of the Senate. The monument loses nothing in grandeur or unity from this change of plan. It remains as A. B. Cook describes it (*Zeus*, ii., p. 108), "the first of its kind and a pattern for posterity: the celestial track that led up and up to a plinth shaped like a hemisphere on the top of which stood the figure of the deified Emperor . . . like the mortals in the *Phaidros who go outside when they are come to the topmost height and stand on the outer surface of Heaven.*"

In choosing the column to mark his resting-place Trajan was abandoning the mausoleum type of round tomb chosen by Augustus, and adopting in its place another ancient form of sepulture where the stele or column that marked the grave had in primitive times been looked upon as the abode of the wandering spirit.

Any attempt at a detailed description of the scenes on the twenty-four windings of the spiral frieze would fall beyond the scope of this book, and we must be content with sketching the main lines of the composition (Figs. 356, 357). The artist has represented in broad outline and idealized form the two expeditions of Trajan against the Dacians. The end of the first and the beginning of the second war are marked by a figure of Victory between two trophies, evidently derived from the Brescia type (above, p. 55). Each war is itself divided into three campaigns. On a narrow space at the

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FIG. 356.—COLUMN OF TRAJAN, LOWER SPIRALS (DETAIL).

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beginning of the spiral is a Roman station, guarded by sentries, with fortified turrets, scenes of woodcutting and foraging, and boats loaded with barrels. The river—no doubt the Danube—now appears; it is indicated, in the Greek manner, by the bust

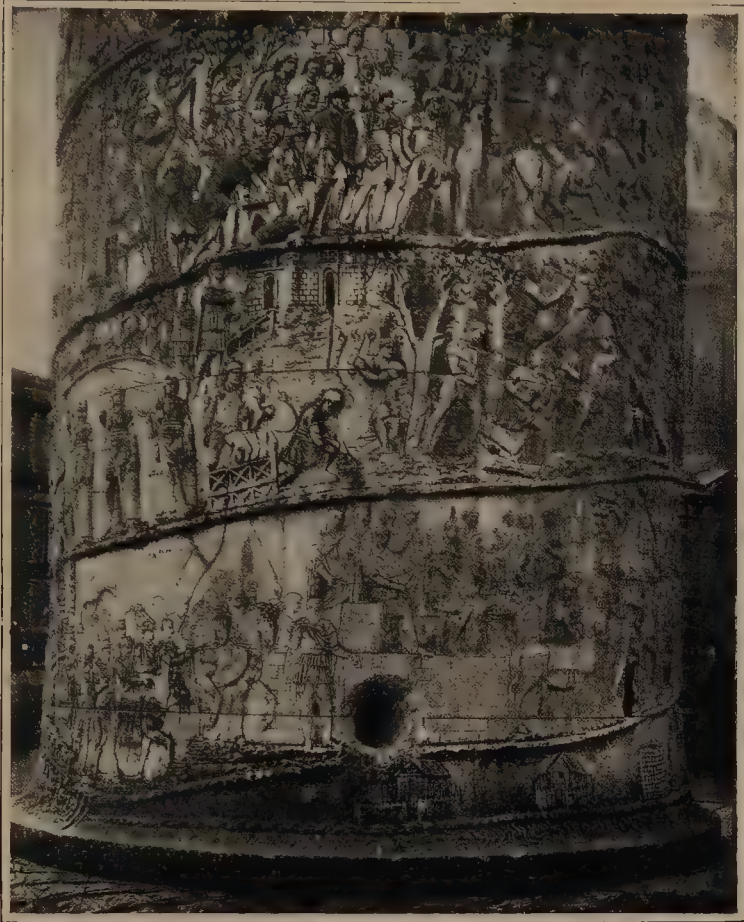


FIG. 357.—COLUMN OF TRAJAN, LOWER SPIRALS (DELMONTE).

of a bearded river god emerging from a grotto and rising from the water to support the bridge of boats over which the Roman army passes after leaving the gates of the town. From this moment the spiral unfolds its various scenes: the Roman army marching in all its majesty; fortified camps and towns, both Roman and barbarian; the crossing of rivers and the burning of the enemy's



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strongholds, single combats or general engagements; embassies and sacrifices. Through all these episodes the artist advances, unhurried because conscious of his strength, towards his climax—the complete victory of the Roman arms. The pacification of the conquered people occupies the final space upon the ever-diminishing spiral, and the martial frieze ends upon the peaceful note of a pastoral theme.

The majesty that pervades these different scenes animates the entire frieze. The principal character in the drama is always the Roman army, and the artist's first intention is to extol its warlike prowess, its courage, its endurance. But another figure stands out from the whole and dominates it: the Emperor. The Imperial group—Trajan between two of his officers—is one of the *leit-motifs* of the frieze. Whether represented in his office of Pontifex Maximus, or at the head of his troops or haranguing them from the *suggestus*, his gestures and expression everywhere betoken the profound goodness, justice and nobility of his character; and his clemency towards fallen enemies adds to the impression of grandeur the frieze conveys to our mind, and makes manifest in the chief as in his army the right of the Roman people. It is the finest instance of war and imperial propaganda ever devised.

The scenes are mostly isolated episodes, but so linked together as to present a continuous effect, not, however, to be confused with the genuinely continuous style of the wall-reliefs of the Forum. Notwithstanding certain irregularities in the execution, and traces of hurry and of carelessness, we are yet conscious, as Lehmann-Hartleben points out (p. 166), of a sureness of touch and technique, of a "sovereign mastery of material" which allow the sculptor, though working in extremely low relief, to make the extremities of his figures stand out at times free from the ground, and to undercut deeply weapons and foliage. It is inexplicable that so great a sculptor and technician should have tolerated any disfigurement of his design. This, as we have seen, was transferred to the column without giving heed to the window slits which so ruthlessly cut into the frieze and interrupt its flow. Had the artist died before the second project, or had he turned stubborn and refused to alter a design which represented no doubt the crowning effort of his artistic experience? Be this as it may, he created an incomparable masterpiece, which commands the admiration of mankind, as does the frieze of the Parthenon or the ceiling of the Sistine. The column has no exact precedent; but it was repeatedly imitated: the Aurelian column later in the century, the column of Arcadius at Constantinople, the column at Hildesheim, and the Napoleonic shaft in the



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Place Vendôme, bear witness to its influence. Though no trace of colour can now be detected on the relief, it seems certain that the whole was once painted in natural local tints (*i.e.* brown for the earth, green for the tree-tops, etc.): it is only on the supposition of additions in colour, moreover, that we can satisfactorily account, in a work otherwise so carefully thought out, for the absence of many details in the armour and other accoutrements. There are also traces showing that metal was skilfully introduced here and there, to enhance the effect of the armour and to afford gleaming points of light. The base of the column is richly covered with reliefs representing trophies, arms and armour of different kinds.

§ 3. *Reliefs on the Arch of Trajan at Benevento.*—It is instructive to pass from the spiral of the column to the panels of the Arch of Trajan at Benevento (Fig. 358). Here the *res gestæ* of the Emperor's reign are treated in conformity with the shape of the monument, not therefore in the continuous manner, either real or simulated, but as a series of isolated episodes, each occupying one panel. In fact it is on these panels, rather than on the frieze of the Trajan column, that the influence of triumphal pictures or of isolated groups carried in procession makes itself felt.

On the side of the arch facing the city the reliefs of the pylons represent the home policy of Trajan; his settlement of the veteran soldiers, his reception of deputations of merchants in the Roman harbour, his own reception in the Forum by the Senatorial and Equestrian orders. On the side of the arch facing the country the pylon reliefs illustrate the foreign policy of Trajan: those of the archway show him offering sacrifice, and founding charitable institutions for the relief of poor children. The narrow frieze displays a triumphal procession (above Fig. 348), and on the keystone of the vault the Emperor is crowned by Victory. On the attic, on the other hand, one single episode, divided into two scenes by the proud inscription twice repeated (*C.I.L.* ix. 1558 = Dessau 296), covers the whole of either front. On the side facing towards the country, the gods of the soil and of increase, Liber and Libera, Diana and Silvanus, appear as protectors of the newly-conquered Dacian provinces to



FIG. 358.—ARCH OF BENEVENTO.  
FACING CITY.

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FIG. 359.—TRAJAN RETURNS TO ROME.  
FROM ATTIC OF ARCH OF BENEVENTO.



FIG. 360.—ABDICATION OF JUPITER.  
ARCH OF BENEVENTO.

welcome the Emperor, who personifies the Roman rule, and who, on the other side of the inscription, is seen accompanied by his successor Hadrian, receiving the submission of Mesopotamia, personified as kneeling between her two rivers. On the city side is placed the scene showing the return of Trajan to Rome, where he is received by the personified *Senatus* and *Populus* (Fig. 359) and by the gods of the State (Fig. 360). Foremost among these we see the Capitoline Jupiter handing over to the Emperor the thunder-bolt as symbol of power, an act which influenced the visible world of



FIG. 361.—EMPEROR TAKING THE AUSPICES.  
(Relief in Louvre.)

## ART UNDER TRAJAN

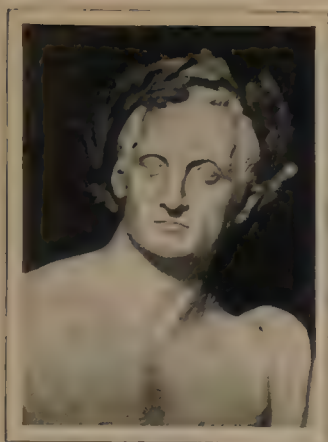


FIG. 362.—HEAD OF NERVA, FROM  
STATUE IN VATICAN.

art not less than the unseen world of the spirit, since in both the Emperor now became the main theme, to the gradual exclusion of the ancient gods. From the presence of Hadrian in attendance upon the Em-



FIG. 363.—TRAJAN.  
(Leyden.)

peror, it had long been surmised that the reliefs of the attic were executed under Hadrian, careful to introduce himself by the side of Trajan, as an answer to the party who questioned the truth of his adoption. This hypothesis has now been confirmed on stylistic grounds by G. Snijder, who points out classicizing traits in drapery which are common to Hadrianic art. At the same time a certain caution must be observed in the re-dating of Trajanic sculpture. For instance, till further proof is available, we may continue to claim for this Principate the slab in the Louvre (Fig. 361) showing an Emperor attended by his suite, watching the *extispicium*, or taking of the auspices from the entrails of a bull. It has recently been dated in the Principate of Hadrian owing to the frieze-like arrangement of the figures seen against buildings, as against a drop-scene which is no functional part of the composition; but in the present inadequate state of our knowledge, it is hazardous to establish hard and fast decisions on bare and comparatively slight differences of style.



FIG. 364.—APOTHEOSIS OF IMPERIAL LADY.  
(British Museum.)

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§ 4. *Trajanic Portraiture and Animal Sculpture*.—The colossal Nerva of the Vatican (Fig. 362) gives us a portrait transitional between Flavian and Trajanic art; a better preserved or less retouched example is the Nerva recently found at Tivoli, and now in the Terme Museum.



FIG. 365.—HEAD OF MARCIANA (?).  
(Conservatori.)

(Fig. 364), wears a towering headdress of the honeycomb sort, while the colossal head in the Conservatori (Fig. 365) with false fringe, surmounted by rolled curls, is generally identified as Marciana. The noble, suffering face of a middle-aged woman in the Capitol



FIG. 366.—PORTRAIT OF LADY OF TRAJANIC EPOCH.  
(Capitol.)

Portraits of Trajan are more numerous than those of any Emperor but Augustus; his lank hair, worn features, and military bearing are familiar in almost every Museum. The Leyden statue (Fig. 363), representing him as *imperator*, is among the finest of his effigies; its stiff frontal attitude—so striking if we compare this statue to the Augustus of Prima Porta—shows the new tendency of art towards a return to archaic models. Court ladies of the Trajanic era retain the elaborate headdresses of the preceding period in a modified form. The imperial lady wafted to heaven on an eagle—Marciana perhaps, or Matidia—on a cameo in London

wears a curious mixture of Augustan pigtail, with the high-fronted coiffure of the Flavian court ladies (Fig. 366). The older ladies of the period (Vatican = Hekler 241a; Lateran = Sc. R. 230) are masterly studies executed at a time when, as a scholar wittily observes, "men had ceased to idealize their grandmothers." In conclusion we may



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mention the so-called Matidia of Naples (Hekler 245*a*), a portrait of some Imperial lady as priestess, which has something of the frontal quality already noted in the portraits of Trajan. Good examples of child portraiture are the two boys' heads in the Vatican (*Sc. R.*, Fig. 229); they are worthy to rank with the Seligmann head, which is not much earlier in date (Fig. 342). A curious and little known high relief in the Uffizi of a Roman officer with his horse (Amelung F. 125) is evidently Trajanic and a portrait. Of approximately the same date is the slab of two boxers in the Lateran, carved in such high relief as to stand out almost in the round (H.A. 1145). The grand head of Mars in the Museo Barracco has been recognized as Trajanic; it has qualities in common with the heads of gods on the arch at Benevento (*Sc. R.*, Fig. 117).

The stately animals of the *anaglyphs* no less than the many excellent representations of animal types (bulls, goats, horses) on the Trajan Column, show that the Romans continued to progress in this branch of art. The animals of the Forum reliefs recall the bull and the cow of two fragmentary pastoral groups—now dispersed between Florence and the Capitoline Museum—which evidently formed part of a pedimental composition, and which include, beside the animals, the complete figure of a shepherd (Florence) and three fragments of smaller figures. The style is Flavian or early Trajanic; what remains was found on the modern Via Labicana, on a site near the Temple of Isis, but no conclusion has been arrived at as to the buildings which they adorned, nor as to what was the precise subject of the group.<sup>1</sup>



FIG. 367.—ARCH AT ANCONA.

§ 5. *Italy and beyond.*—The majestic arch at Ancona (Fig. 367), on which we still read the inscription that links together the names of Trajan, of his consort Plotina and of his sister Marciana (*C.I.L.* ix. 5894 = Dessau 298) is a fine example of Trajanic architecture. It was erected in the same year as the arch of Benevento (A.D. 115), from which it differs in its narrow proportions, high base and flight of steps. As Domitian filled Rome, so Trajan covered the provinces with arches: in Spain and in Africa more especially, but these lie outside our scope:

<sup>1</sup> Was it an "Omen of the Birds" granted to Romulus and his brother, with the shepherds and others looking on from the sides?

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it suffices to mention in Spain the arch on the bridge at Alcantara (date 105—106; *C.I.L.* ii. 759), and that at Bara (*portal de Bara*; for the date, *C.I.L.* ii. 4282); in Africa the arches of Mactaris (dated 116, *C.I.L.* viii. 621), the similar, indeed almost identical arch of Uzeppa, and the arch of Timgad.



FIG. 368.—ROUND CENOTAPH, ADAMKLISSI.  
(After Nilmann)

More than ever were works of engineering invested at this time with the beauty of line and of construction which gives them a place as works of art. The harbour of Portus was created to serve Ostia; other harbours were made at Civita Vecchia and at Terracina. Of the building of the Terracina harbour, a striking record survives in the relief (R R iii. 422.1) in the style of the Trajan column, showing the Emperor himself directing the

building operations. Several bridges of the *Via Traiana* may still be traced along the track to Brindisi. In Trajan's native Spain splendid bridges were erected, like that of Alcantara (*Norba Cæsarea*) across the Tagus, referred to above. In Mauretania, Timgad, the ancient Thamagudi, planned on the basis of a military camp, and the best known of the many cities founded by the Emperor in North Africa, is the classic example of a Trajanic city. At Adamklissi, in the distant Dobrudscha, a round cenotaph (Fig. 368), rimmed with crenellations, adorned with strange barbaric sculptures that may belong to a later period (Fig. 369), and surmounted by a trophy, commemorated the Trajan victories, and is the provincial counterpart, as it were, of Trajan's column in Rome. If we are to believe that the military



FIG. 369.—A FAMILY OF CAPTIVE BAR-  
BARIANS, FROM ADAMKLISSI.  
(Bucharest.)

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enterprises of Trajan "were bringing the Empire to the verge of ruin" (Rostowzew), the melancholy fact is never revealed in the resplendent art of the period. Its effort was mainly devoted to the expression of Imperial and military ideals. What Trajan strove to accomplish is well summed up in the relief of the famous "eagle within an oak-wreath" that now adorns the portico of the church of the SS. Apostoli in Rome (Fig. 370). The building and religious policy of Augustus and the war propaganda of Trajan had been swept into a vast Imperial programme, and art offered *orbi et urbi* a picture of this policy and its benefits. Difficulties and problems were arising, but the Imperial bird still swooped down from the depths of the sky carrying its omen of Victory.



FIG. 370.—EAGLE AT SS. APOSTOLI, FOME.

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FIG. 371.—PROCESSION IN HONOUR OF ISIS.  
(Relief in Vatican.)

## CHAPTER XV

### THE "GOLDEN AGE" OF HADRIAN (117-138): AUGUSTAN CONCEPTIONS REVIVED: GREEK INFLUENCE

THERE was no reversal and little interruption of artistic effort between the Principates of Trajan and Hadrian. The fresh influences that had made themselves felt in the Trajan Column had strengthened the legacy of forms received from Augustus through the Julio-Claudians, and Imperial art was to be further enriched by ideas springing from the brain of the energetic and artistically endowed Hadrian. Moreover, Hadrian, like Vespasian before him, paid special attention to the cults which had been the great inspiration of the building and artistic policy of Augustus. He is also said to have been a passionate student of Greece—again a point in which he was not unlike Augustus—though study and research show that what he introduced from Greece was always tempered to Roman taste and tradition. Even the low reliefs and the neutral backgrounds which the sculptors of the period affected in imitation, it is said, of Attic models did not destroy the Roman sense for corporeity and depth. We must, however, begin with the buildings as the most significant branch of Hadrian's activities.

§ 1. *Hadrian as Architect; his Restorations.*—The building enterprise of the Principates of Domitian and of Trajan had been led by great architects like Rabirius and Apollodorus. Hadrian, on the other hand, though often accounted a mere dilettante, undoubtedly



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possessed genuine gifts both as architect and engineer; Dio Cassius<sup>1</sup> mentions his skill in music, painting and sculpture, and dwells particularly on his architectural work, and there is no doubt that he was directly responsible for the architectural operations of his Principate and mostly supervised them himself. In view of their striking originality (Pantheon, Temple of Venus and Roma, buildings of the Tiburtine Villa) this point is of the greatest importance, for it enables us to rectify the common idea of Hadrian as a mere classicist, striving to introduce into Rome and Italy imitations of Greek forms and copies of Greek models. His monuments at least tell quite another tale: here he followed the Italic current and developed its possibilities to the full. In sculpture, however, a classicizing tendency is apparent (treatment of drapery and the relation of relief to background), due possibly to the fact that Hadrian sent, it is said, a number of sculptors to study in Greece.

Spartian tells us that Hadrian restored a number of buildings in Rome: the Pantheon, the Sæpta Julia, the Basilica of Neptune, several temples, the Forum of Augustus and the Baths of Agrippa, but inscribed his own name only on the Temple of Trajan, which he may have designed himself (above, p. 75). He also built a new Imperial mausoleum and the bridge that led to it, and a temple of the Bona Dea near the Aventine; he entrusted, as we have already seen, the architect Decrianus with the removal of the colossal statue of Nero to a new site, rededicating it to the Sun, and planning a companion to it, a statue of the Moon, to be made by Apollodorus—a part of the scheme apparently never carried out. Hadrian also enlarged the area of the Palatine towards the N.E. by means of the huge substructures that span the Nova Via and continued to build on the hill on the lines traced by Domitian.

Many innovations unknown to Trajanic art now make their appearance in architecture which, in the absence of other names, we may place to Hadrian's credit. Among them we note the tendency to return to the old Italic circular form of building already favoured by Augustus; the frequent introduction of vaulted and domed construction, which led to the perfecting of the dome (Pantheon) and the first application of ribs to cross-vaulting.

§ 2. *The Pantheon*.—The Pantheon, rebuilt on the site of the old Pantheon of Agrippa, is possibly the noblest architectural achievement of the Roman world (Fig. 372). For it Hadrian chose the form preferred by the Romans and by the Italic peoples for the temples of their most ancient divinities, such as Vesta and

<sup>1</sup> Dio 3, 2; 4, 2. See also Spart. 14, 9; Dio 4, 3-5.

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Hercules, and for their tombs. In transforming the rectangular Pantheon of the Augustan period into a circular building Hadrian

showed himself as deeply imbued as Augustus himself with a sense of tradition and of its value, and even went beyond his great predecessor in willing that the temple of the *Gens Julia* should be a development of the primitive Italic hut-type. The colossal rotunda is preceded by a portico with eight columns on the front. These support the architrave, upon which runs the inscription (Vol. I., p. 132), and above rises the tall pediment with traces of metal ornaments. H. B. Walters excellently compares this



FIG. 372.—THE PANTHEON OF HADRIAN.

octostyle portico in three divisions to an Etruscan temple with its three cellas—the central one opening into the temple itself, those to right and left ending in niches that contained the statues of the original founders. The domed interior (Fig. 373) is the supreme expression of a type of construction already familiar from the domed chambers of the smaller Palace of Domitian. The wall is broken up into a system of niches separated by deep recesses which are screened by columns; the effect aimed at, of an aerial dome suspended above the vast central space, is completely successful. This impression is heightened by the coffered decoration of the dome, each coffer being adorned with a starlike rosette in imitation of the vault of the sky, and by the round opening at the top which floods the space with light.



FIG. 373.—THE PANTHEON, INTERIOR.  
(Detail.)

“As we enter the building, its incomparable effect is felt to proceed not so much from the very restrained ordering of its wall-space or from the gorgeous coloured decoration, as from the perfect harmony of the domed space with its

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zenith light. It is assuredly not only through the mere accident of its preservation that the Rotunda is the first ancient temple which impresses us as space, in the same way that we are impressed by our mediæval cathedrals, although the feeling that arises in us is of quite a different character. We are not freed from the earth and snatched up into the infinite, but we become deeply conscious of a reality a thousandfold intensified and supported by a mighty rhythm. In this impressive space, no image of the gods could dominate the general impression as in other antique temples, no statue projected from the wall into space. The niches reserved for cultus, with the exception of the central recess opposite the entrance, are mantled by columns. For the first time it is space itself that raises up mankind and assures it of the presence of the gods." (Koch.)

In the reign of Severus the attic between the dome and the wall-niches was reveted with coloured marbles and porphyry.

Hadrian likewise restored the Thermæ at the back of the Pantheon. The façade was flanked by staircase towers such as had already been constructed at the Baths of Titus: they occur again on the façade of the Baths of Diocletian, and at a later date probably became the model for the towers on certain church façades as at S. Lorenzo at Ravenna (Rivoira, L.A. i. p. 46). The old Thermæ of Agrippa were now united with the Pantheon by a series of halls, one of which, immediately behind the Rotunda, has a fine entablature with a frieze of dolphins and tridents still visible.

§ 3. *The Mausoleum of Hadrian (later, Castel Sant' Angelo).*—A circular structure was once more the dominant motive of the Mausoleum which Hadrian erected for himself and his wife Sabina in A.D. 135. In reality it presents a combination of a square substructure supporting a circular building. In this way Hadrian, who is generally supposed to have prepared the design, was able to combine two ideas, the square podium of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus and the circular Latin tomb. In other words, in place of the pyramidal superstructure of the Carian monument—imitated doubtless from the pyramid tombs of Egypt—he chose a great cylinder, which repeats the favourite shape of Latin primitive tombs and temples. In spite of later mutilations and additions, plan and shape are still fairly clear. The huge square base was adorned with massive pilasters at each corner; its richly carved architrave had garlands hanging from bucrania—fragments of which may still be seen *in situ*. The huge drum was surrounded by columns, each supporting a statue. These seem to have stood till the siege of Rome by Witiges in 538, when many of the statues were hurled down on the Goths by the defenders under Justinian's general, Belisarius. Hadrian may have been influenced in his planning by a reminiscence of the choragic monument of Lysicrates at Athens: the small Attic monument is of much slenderer proportions, but it has the square base and the round superstructure surrounded by columns. In Rome these elements are profoundly transformed.

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In the principal chamber of the Hadrianic Mausoleum were placed the urns of Hadrian and his consort. Other Emperors were buried there, the last of whom was Caracalla. Two peacocks of gilt bronze (Fig. 374), symbols of apotheosis and immortality, flanked the



FIG. 374.—BRONZE PEACOCK FROM  
MAUSOLEUM OF HADRIAN.  
(Vatican.)

entrance to the Mausoleum; in mediæval times they were placed as acroteria on the canopy which sheltered the Pigna (H.A. 120) in the forecourt of old St. Peter's, and they now stand on either side of the Pigna in the Cortile del Belvedere of the Vatican. Both peacocks are magnificent examples of antique animal sculpture; the feathers are rendered with simplicity; the grip of the claws, the rendering of the horny skin of the eye, show a true observation of

nature, but without over-emphasis of detail. The effect is attained by modelling and casting only; save on the head there are no traces of chiselling.

The Mausoleum, with the bridge leading to it, was completed in 139; as might be expected, the *moles Hadriani*, as the huge tomb was called, was imitated by humbler people; its influence seems evident in the Roman tomb called "La Conocchia" on the Via Appia, beyond Santa Maria Capua Vetere, where the four pillars of the base and the colonnaded upper cylinder are distantly imitated from the Hadrianic monument (Fig. 375). Rivoira (R.A., p. 162 and Fig. 195) dates the tomb somewhat later because of the blind arcading of the cylinder, which he considers an Antonine innovation.

§ 4. *Hadrian's Temple of Venus and Rome*.—Whoever may have been the architect of the new Pantheon (which was rebuilt in 120–124), we know that the Emperor himself was responsible for the large double temple of Venus and Roma (Fig. 376) with its novel plan of two apsed cellæ placed back to back. The brick stamps,



[Photo. R. Gardner.]

FIG. 375.—"LA CONOCCHIA."



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it is true, show, according to Dr. E. Van Deman, that what remains of the temple belongs in the main to a reconstruction under Aurelian, but the plan must be looked upon as Hadrian's. The temple stood on part of the site of Nero's Golden House, which Hadrian, like his predecessors, was apparently bent upon effacing from the map of Rome. We can still form a good idea of the coffered apses of both the cellæ, each of which was faced by four columns *in antis*, while the lateral walls were broken by niches containing statues, and divided from one another by columns. The size of the temple of Venus and Rome was such that it had ten columns at each end and twenty along each side, counting the corner columns twice. The temple was further surrounded by a grandiose colonnade, many fragments of whose columns may still be seen lying on the ground. Thus the plan somewhat resembled that of the Imperial fora, except that the temple stood in the middle, and not at the upper end, of the enclosure. Like the Pantheon this temple also bears witness to Hadrian's religiosity; in

establishing the cult of Venus and Rome he was reviving cults which linked the Imperial idea with the ancient traditions of the Roman people, and his own religious policy with that of Cæsar and Augustus. The dedication was on April 21st (Birthday of Rome), 121, an auspicious event, looked upon, as H. Mattingly shows, as the inauguration of a new age of gold. The work continued to about 137, and its successive stages were marked by an issue of coinage showing the Temple on the obverse, and on the reverse a succession of designs including Hadrian as spirit of the Golden Age, holding a phoenix on globe; the Divine Twins; "Roma Æterna"; and Venus Felix.

Difficulties seem to have arisen between the Emperor and Apollo-dorus with regard to this temple. Hadrian, it seems, submitted his drawings for the temple to the veteran architect, who answered that scale and position were all wrong for the site and the statues which the temple was intended to contain. Thereupon, we read, Hadrian was much hurt, "and still more so because he had fallen into an error which it was impossible to correct"; he therefore gave way



FIG. 376.—APSE OF TEMPLE OF  
VENUS AND ROME.

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to his anger and had Apollodorus exiled and put to death. In this story the naïve pride which prompted the Emperor to send the plans and his extreme sensitiveness to a criticism which he felt to be just reveal the attitude of the artist rather than the patron. Nevertheless Hadrian was probably the pupil of Apollodorus, with whom his intercourse dated from the days of Trajan's campaign in Dacia. Apollodorus dedicated one of his treatises to Hadrian as Emperor, and it was no doubt to him that Hadrian owed his training and the development of his marked architectural abilities.

§ 5. *Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli*.—Hadrian erected an extensive villa on the southern slopes of the olive-clad hills of Tibur, the building of which occupied ten years (125–135). In the present state of the ruins it is difficult to conjecture what the famous villa looked like as a whole. Was there any dominating block of buildings round which the others were grouped? or did it always consist, as now, of a number of isolated edifices dotted about a vast area without much relation to each other? Modern opinion tends to regard what may be a palace or residence immediately west of the "Vale of Tempe" as the older portion. This palace was raised on an artificial substructure similar to those employed by Hadrian for enlarging the plateau of the Palatine on the side of the Forum. The leading conception seems to be of a great house, with a number of subdivisions for games, bathing, walking and the other pastimes of town and country. Of no less importance is the adjacent "Piazza d'Oro," which consists of a main block of buildings approached through a vast peristyle—equal in area to that of the palace on the Palatine. The "Piazza" itself is entered on the side opposite the main block through a vestibule of octagonal plan, with niches alternately rectangular and curvilinear which clearly derive from the domed chambers of the smaller palace of Domitian. The arrangement is essentially Roman, and offers the earliest known example of a cupola divided into segments, a design which Rivoira (*R.A.*, p. 133) traces back to apsidal recesses with shell-shaped heads. The plan of the Piazza d'Oro, with a block of buildings concentrated on one side of the peristyle instead of distributed all round it, is a further development of the Palatine plan with its two main blocks on either side of the peristyle. The general resemblance of Piazza d'Oro and Palatine and the identical size of their peristyles seem to point to this group of buildings as being the actual Imperial palace—it is at any rate a residence of great importance. Moreover, it represents a type of villa in which the old inner peristyle had definitely become the forecourt of the main building: the development is the same as that observed in the fora of Augustus, Domitian and Trajan and

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later at Baalbek. Other remarkable features in the Villa are the Canopus, with the ribbed or segmented semi-dome of its apse; immediately south-west of this, the large complex with the so-called academy in the centre; and, returning towards the first group of buildings, the so-called *Poikile*, a long rectangular space—in reality a garden-hippodrome like that of the Palatine—that breaks into a curve at its upper end. Its north wall is preserved, showing Roman reticulate masonry with bands of the finest brick-work. The wall was curtained by a colonnade forming a vast portico. Again, in the so-called Nymphæum (Gusman, Fig. 103 ff.) we admire the construction of another great vestibule,



FIG. 377.—SEMICIRCULAR APSE AND ARCH. VILLA OF HADRIAN.



FIG. 378.—STUCCOED VAULT FROM THERMÆ OF VILLA OF HADRIAN.

a vast semicircular apse encased in a rectangular wall pierced by a splendid arch (Fig. 377). One square chamber of the larger Thermæ offers a good example of reticulate and brickwork. Its vault remains practically intact, with the stucco decoration still adhering to one of its pendentives (Fig. 378). The whole villa was intended, it is said, to recall the sites and buildings which the Emperor had admired on his travels. Thus, according to Spartian, who has left us a detailed description of the site, it contained a Vale of Tempe, a *Stoa Poikile*, an Academy, a Prytaneion, a Canopus, etc. But all these echoes of famous names should not blind us

to the originality both of planning and construction to be found in many of the buildings, which were carried out in the Roman style, and afterwards named after famous buildings, a fashion that dates from the days of Cicero.



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The carved decoration was everywhere rich and original. From the Piazza d'Orò come fragments of a frieze, with love-gods hunting



FIG. 379.—MOSAIC OF DOVES FROM VILLA OF HADRIAN.  
(Capitol.)

wild animals in a forest. A number of fragments of a frieze from the Circular Portico (so-called *natorium*) show Tritons blowing their horns, and sea-monsters disporting themselves among the waves. From this portico likewise come fragments of friezes with love-gods driving teams of wild boars, gazelles and dromedaries. The floors were resplendent with mosaics, among them the celebrated "Doves" now in the Capitol, a copy apparently of an

original by the Pergamene Sosos (Fig. 379). Four other mosaics with scenes from animal life are preserved, three in the Sala degli Animali of the Vatican (Nogara, Pl. XXXIII), and one in Berlin. The latter (Fig. 380) shows a dramatic composition in which a distraught Centaur rushes down the mountains to hurl a piece of rock upon the leopard that has slain his mate. The beauty of the fallen Centauress, the pathos of her helpless body, the grace of her last movement, the rage of the leopard, intensified as it is by terror at the approaching blow, are rendered with a force rarely surpassed by the animal painters of any country. Who is to be credited with this masterpiece? The landscape alone—its broken lights and soft

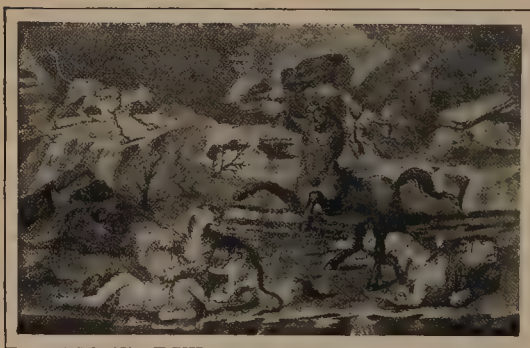


FIG. 380.—BATTLE OF CENTAURS AND LEOPARDS FROM VILLA OF HADRIAN.  
(Berlin.)

tones—shows that the composition is taken from a painting—but what painting? Tradition tells of a picture of Centaurs and Centauresses by Zeuxis, but there can be no connection between the



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spatial and atmospheric effects of Hadrian's mosaic and any Greek work of the fourth century B.C.

There is great beauty, too, in the "Pastoral landscape with goats" in the Vatican; two goats are lying down, two are browsing, and a third crosses a brook over a rocky slab leading to a grove on the right with the bronze image of a rustic deity. The harmony of the tints is agreeable: a grey sky, brown earth and pink rocks, against which the reddish-brown of the goats is pleasantly relieved (Fig. 381). A similar pastoral landscape, also from Villa Adriana, is in the Gabinetto delle Maschere (Nogara, Pl. XXXI). Numerous other mosaics are in the Vatican; others mainly of ornamental character remain in the Villa. Some chambers, like the central Piazza d'Oro, are paved with an intarsia of precious marbles. The Villa Adriana was a vast storehouse of sculpture whence in modern times museums and



FIG. 381.—SACRO-IDYLIC LANDSCAPE FROM  
VILLA OF HADRIAN  
(Vatican.)



FIG. 382A.



FIG. 382B.

CENTAURS OF BLACK MARBLE FROM VILLA OF HADRIAN.

(Capitol.)

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collections have been largely furnished. A large number of its treasures are in the Roman museums; among them the Myronic Discobolus and the so-called Niobid, both in the Vatican; the young Bacchus, probably an eclectic creation of Hadrianic date, of the Terme (Sc. R., Pl. LXXVI); the pair of black marble Centaurs in the Capitoline Museum, evidently derived from a Pergamene original (Figs. 382 *a* and *b*), and a relief of Antinous in the Villa Albani (H.A., 1893). Many of these works of art found their way to English private collections (see Gusman's list).



FIG. 383.—VILLA OF QUINTILI, LATER APSE.

§ 6. *Villas at Sette Basi and of the Quintili.*—Of the time of Hadrian likewise is a villa on the Via Latina, now known as *Sette Basi*. It also consisted of one main block, on one side of a long court or hippodrome. The ceilings remain in various chambers, and here, as at the Villa Adriana, we may admire the beautiful diagonal ribs of the intersecting vaults; the introduction of the horse-shoe arcade, borrowed

doubtless from the East, and the grand buttressed apse, still standing to nearly its original height. Another imposing example of a villa of the Hadrianic period is afforded by the ruins at the fifth mile of the Via Appia, of the Villa of the Quintili. Close to the road and facing it still stands the niched apse (Fig. 383), once covered with a semi-dome, behind which ran a long narrow garden or "hippodrome." The apse seems, however, to belong to a late restoration. So far as the ruins permit one to judge, the plan of a main block on one side of a peristyle was likewise adopted here. The villa included extensive baths once decorated with polychrome marbles and crowded with statues. As an example of its former decoration, we may quote the lovely mosaic representing a basket of flowers now at the entrance of the Sala a Croce Greca of the Vatican (Nogara, Pl. XXVII, 2). Such extreme naturalness in mosaic is not altogether admirable, for the hard material seems to demand precise and even harsh contours. But we obviously have to do here with a copy from a painting, and we cannot but marvel at the feeling for colour; at the rendering of light and shade, at the

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atmospheric effect, at the sense of air circulating between the varied flowers of this rich nosegay. A landscape in the Villa Albani likewise comes from this villa (Fig. 384). It shows the persistence of pastoral motives, intermixed with little shrines and tombs, in the



FIG. 384.—SACRO-IDYLLIC LANDSCAPE FROM VILLA OF QUINTILI.  
(Villa Albani.)

manner already noted as characteristic of the later Republican and Augustan periods. In the time of Commodus it belonged to two brothers of the family of the Quintili, Condianus and Maximus, whose fine estate the Emperor so coveted that he contrived their death in order to get possession of it.

§ 7. *Sculpture under Hadrian. Historical reliefs and altars: statues and sarcophagi.*—Extensive historical compositions, such as those which encircle the column of Trajan, tend to disappear and sacrificial and religious scenes become the main theme of composition in relief, a tendency influenced perhaps by the Emperor's religious mysticism. The upper part of a relief in the Louvre with the "Sacrifice of a Bull" (Fig. 385) is an average example of Hadrianic style. It was probably part of a series to which may also be attributed the slab of the Prætorian soldiers of the Louvre (Sc. R., Fig. 124). The reliefs may belong to a



FIG. 385.—SCENE OF SACRIFICE.  
(Louvre.)



FIG. 386.—HADRIANIC ALTAR.  
(Roman Forum.)



FIG. 387.—ISIS, HORUS AND  
SERAPIS.  
(Relief in Louvre.)

triumphal arch erected in A.D. 118 at the beginning of Hadrian's reign to commemorate his victories over the Sarmatians and the Roxolani. Another fine Hadrianic piece is the "Remission of Taxes" at Chatsworth (*Sc. R.*, Fig. 125). Two companion reliefs in the Palazzo dei Conservatori representing, the one the Apotheosis of an Empress, the other an Emperor making a proclamation (*Sc. R.*, Figs. 126, 127), are thought to have come originally from the "*Ustrinum Antoninorum*" and to record the cremation of Sabina and the *laudatio memoriæ* recited by Hadrian in her honour. We note a tendency in other reliefs to obtain a clearer background unencumbered by

landscape or architectural accessories; a return to the Attic manner of composition. Good examples are the reliefs of the altar of the Castores in the Forum (Fig. 386), the "sacrifice of a bull" in Florence (*Sc. R.*, Fig. 254), a fine ceremonial piece, and the lovely relief showing a procession in honour of Isis in the Gabinetto dell'Antinoo of the Vatican (Fig. 341). With this relief, which bears witness to the continued interest in the Isiac cult, we may associate the slab in the Louvre representing Isis, Horus and Serapis, accompanied by Dionysus (Fig. 387). It is supposed to have come from Egypt, and to have formed part of the decoration of a triumphal arch, though the authority for this statement is not clear. The style of the sculpture has been pronounced Trajanic because of its analogy to certain panels on the arch at Benevento; but these are precisely those panels of the attic which we saw reason to attribute to Hadrian's influence, and we may therefore assume the Egyptian



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relief to belong likewise to the early part of Hadrian's Principate.

The eight circular medallions that now adorn the north and south faces of the attic storey of the Arch of Constantine (*Sc. R.*, Figs. 131-138) representing scenes of hunting and of sacrifice to the gods of the chase are purely Hadrianic in style. Attempts have been made to connect these scenes with certain definite exploits of Hadrian during his travels through the Empire between the years 123 and 134; but the events represented are evidently typical rather than particular. The statue of Apollo of one of the medallions—copied, it is thought, from the Apollo in the forecourt of the Palatine temple—emphasises Hadrian's endeavour to revive the Palatine cult, a move which formed part of his systematic emulation of Augustus. The reliefs may, according to a recent conjecture, have adorned some altar balustrade on the Palatine (to *Fortuna Redux* for the Emperor's safe return in 134?). The composition of the medallions retains much vigour and contrasts agreeably with the smooth elegance of the mural reliefs we consider next.

Big mural reliefs, originally coloured and intended for insertion into walls after the fashion of panel pictures, continued in fashion. Good examples are the Perseus and Andromeda (Fig. 388), the Endymion Asleep (Fig. 389) of the Capitoline Museum, the Amphion and Zethus (Fig. 390), and the Death of Opheltes (Fig. 391), belonging to the series of eight panels at the Palazzo Spada; the "Dædalus and Icarus" in the Villa Albani (Fig. 392, H.A. 1879), which from the proportion of the figures to their setting seems to belong to the same period as the Spada reliefs. All these compositions, as L. Curtius points out, are



FIG. 388.—PERSEUS AND ANDROMEDA.  
(Capitol.)



FIG. 389.—ENDYMION ASLEEP.  
(Capitol.)

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clearly influenced by the large subject pictures of the latest Pompeian style (so-called "fourth"), but the smooth technique forbids dating them earlier than the second century. Similar considerations of composition and technique incline us to date to the first half of the second century A.D. the reliefs with figures of dancing girls in the Terme from a circular structure on the Via Prænestina (Fig. 393).



FIG. 390.—AMPHION AND ZETHUS.  
(Palazzo Spada.)

We have already noted as Hadrianic the Dionysus of the Villa Adriana, adapted from a Polykleitan model (*Sc. R.*, Fig. 139). The Semo Sancus of the Vatican (H.A. 351), similarly adapted from an archaic Greek statue, is placed in the same period, and so likewise is the recumbent statue of the risen Attis from Ostia in the Lateran, dedicated by one C. Cartilius (Fig. 394). The young god, in whom the attributes of both sexes are blended, is seen lying amidst the flowers—

symbol of resurrection—having attained to perfect union with the divinity in whom is neither male nor female.



FIG. 391.—DEATH OF OPHELTES.  
(Palazzo Spada.)

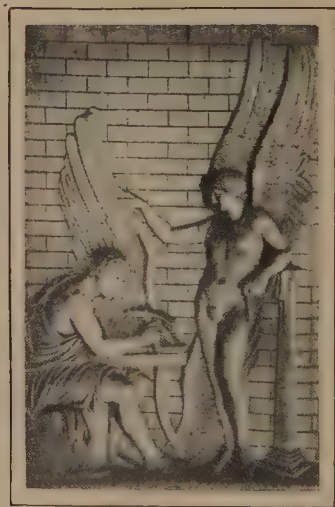


FIG. 392.—DÆDALUS AND ICARUS.  
(Villa Albani.)

## THE GOLDEN AGE OF HADRIAN

The reliefs of the sarcophagi which came in towards the close of the Principate have a more original and spontaneous character than most of the sculpture of the period. The neutral background and frieze-like arrangement of the figures on the sarcophagus in the Villa Albani with the marriage feast of Peleus and Thetis (Fig. 395) strike, it is true, a note of "Atticism," which is admittedly in contrast to the harsher forms and the growing tendency to produce effects of light and dark by accentuation of linear contours, characteristic of Roman art even in



FIG. 393.—BASE FROM VIA PRÆNESTINA.  
(Terme.)



FIG. 394.—ATTIS, FROM OSTIA.  
(Lateran.)

Hadrianic times. Sarcophagus sculpture now reached a high degree of excellence. The main subjects were legends borrowed from ancient mythology, but charged with new allegorical and mystical meaning: the allusion was either to the fate of the soul in the under-world or among the starry spheres, or to the trials and sufferings of man before his



FIG. 395.—MARRIAGE OF PELEUS AND THETIS. SARCOPHAGUS IN VILLA ALBANI.



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soul might be released and purified and attain to immortality, as in the story of Orestes (Fig. 396), of the Niobids (*Sc. R.*, Fig. 174) and many others; among which the glorious sarcophagus of Dionysus

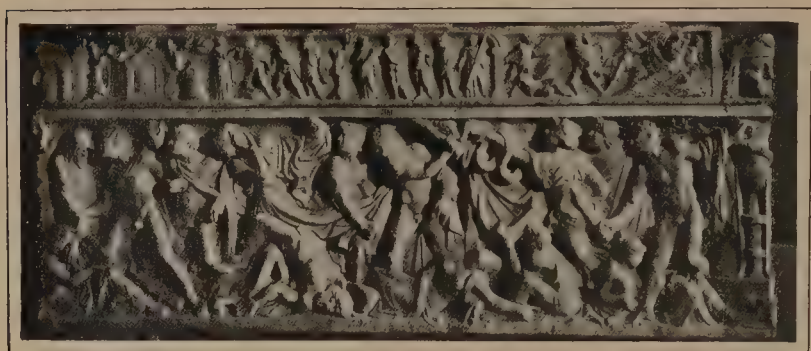


FIG. 396.—THE TRAGEDY OF ORESTES. SARCOPHAGUS IN LATERAN.

and Ariadne at Ny Carlsberg deserves a foremost place. Many monuments, moreover, sometimes of quite a humble character, illustrate the revival of Augustan cults that took place under Hadrian;



FIG. 397.—LEGEND OF ACTÆON AND DIANA. SARCOPHAGUS IN THE LOUVRE.

the charming altar, for instance, dating from early in the Principate and put up at Ostia, which displays on its four faces the story of the origin of Rome; the loves of Mars and Venus, ancestral gods of the Italian race, and the legend of the Twins (*Sc. R.*, Fig. 130). The schematic, somewhat harsh forms of the swags are characteristic of



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the period and recur on several sarcophagi, such as that of "Diana and Actæon" in the Louvre (Fig. 397) and that of the Muses, shown standing under garlands between short pilasters, in Naples (Fig. 398).



FIG. 398.—SARCOPHAGUS OF THE MUSES.  
(Naples.)

The Louvre sarcophagus has miniature scenes within the hollow of the swags: these are typical of Hadrianic sarcophagi, other examples being the recently discovered sarcophagus in the Terme, with pastoral



FIG. 399.—HADRIAN.  
(Vatican.)



FIG. 400.—HADRIANIC BUST.  
(Braccio Nuovo of Vatican.)

scenes in the hollows, and the fine sarcophagus at Venice with the "Rape of Proserpine" shown dramatically in a similar space. The same religious conceptions noted on the altar of Ostia and connected with the origins of Rome, inspire the decoration of the sarcophagus formerly in the Villa Mattei, illustrating the legend of Mars and Rhea on its side-pieces (Vatican: Amelung, II, 37b

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and 52*b*), while the "Sacrifice of a Bull" in Florence (*Sc. R.* 254), an admitted Hadrianic piece, is among the finest religious reliefs in



FIG. 401.—THE EMPRESS SABINA.  
(Conservatori.)

existence—worthy to rank for beauty and inspiration with the Dionysus-Ariadne sarcophagus of Ny Carlsberg.

§ 8. *Hadrianic Portraiture—Antoninus.*—Portraits of Hadrian are numerous. Hadrian revived the fashion of wearing a beard for the first time since the introduction of barbers into Rome about 300 B.C., after which the beard had been worn only as a sign of mourning. The fashion reintroduced by Hadrian lasted until the time of Constantine. One of his portraits represents him in heroic nakedness and in Polykleitan pose as Mars (*B.S.R.*(i), p. 284, 13). The colossal head from his Mausoleum—once belonging to a statue—is only on the level of good official sculpture

(Fig. 399); more interesting is the bust with ironical smile of the Braccio Nuovo (No. 81), though few of his portraits have the distinction and energy of the contemporary bust in the Vatican showing a man still young, with closely cropped beard and thick hair (Fig. 400). The pathetic beauty of the Empress Sabina finds expression in two masterpieces of the Conservatori and the Museo delle Terme (Figs. 401, 402); in one the simple coiffure with a diadem confining the waving and combed-back locks has almost a girlish freshness, in the other the veil drawn over the head behind the diadem imparts a more majestic mien to the young face. A fine portrait statue of Sabina showing her grace of pose and figure, found at Ostia, is in the local museum. Portrait-painting flourished at this time—

at least in Egypt, if we may follow Delbrueck in assigning to this date the remarkable portrait of "Aline, daughter of Herodes"



FIG. 402.—THE EMPRESS SABINA.  
(Terme.)

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(inscribed) from Hawara in the Fayoum, now in the Berlin Museum (Fig. 403). The colours are vivid; black hair, black eyes with bright high light, ruddy complexion, white gown, pearls and earrings treated plastically, the whole seen against a dark brown background.

A certain eclecticism characterises the portraiture of Hadrian's favourite Antinous, the Bithynian ephebe who laid down his life so tragically for his Imperial master. After his death he was raised to the stars, and honoured with a special ritual and priesthood, while temples (as at Lanuvium) and statues innumerable were set up to him,



FIG. 403.—"ALINE," PORTRAIT FROM THE  
FAYOUM.  
(Berlin.)



FIG. 404.—ANTINOUS-DIONYSUS.  
(Vatican.)

and—a unique tribute—his portrait was placed on the coins of many cities throughout the Empire. The statues are of very varying excellence, but in them all we detect the attempt to combine the traditional Greek ideal of youthful manhood with a heavy Oriental physique. The pose of the body, the features of the face, may remind us at times of Pheidias or Polykleitan creations; but we also invariably find in them the sombre expression, the heavy lips, the broad shoulders and prominent chest which we must suppose were individual traits. A justly famous statue from the Imperial villa at Palestrina shows Antinous as

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Dionysus (Vatican, Rotunda 540; Fig. 404), with the ivy-wreath on his heavy curls, and for a crown the Bacchic pine-cone. In the celebrated relief found at the Villa Adriana in 1735 and removed to the Villa Albani, he is represented as Vertumnus, with gifts of fruit in his hand; in the loveliest relief of all, that signed by Antonianus of Aphrodisias, found in 1908, he is portrayed as Silvanus (Fig. 405), the peasant-god of rustic life. He wears a wreath of pine-leaves as sole symbol of his divinity, and carries the woodman's pruning-knife. In front of him is an altar crowned by a pine-cone, while the faithful dog looks up to his young master's face. Above is a vine-branch loaded with heavy bunches of grapes.



FIG. 405.—ANTINOUS-SILVANUS. RELIEF BY ANTONIANUS OF APHRODISIAS.

Since Antinous had met his self-appointed death on the Nile, he was appropriately commemorated by an obelisk set up over his grave or his cenotaph near the Porta Maggiore, and removed to the Pincio in 1633 by the Princes Barberini. The obelisk exhibits on all four sides reliefs with explanatory hieroglyphs beneath them, representing (1) Hadrian in presence of the sun-god

Ra Harmachis (Hara-chte), (2) the divinized Antinous before Thoth, (3) Antinous before Amon, (4) Antinous before a god no longer identifiable owing to the mutilation of the relief.

### § 9. *The Provinces.*—

To understand the full compass of the development of art under Hadrian, we should have to

travel through the provinces of the Empire. At Athens, which he visited three times, he restored and beautified many buildings and founded a new city known as Hadrianopolis to distinguish it from the older city of Theseus. On the completion of the famous Temple of Zeus Olympios in 129, Hadrian was himself acclaimed as Olympios, and the head of Zeus on coins of Elis was assimilated to that of the



FIG. 406.—SCULPTURES FROM THEATRE OF DIONYSUS AT ATHENS.



## THE GOLDEN AGE OF HADRIAN

Emperor. In these enterprises he was seconded by the rich rhetor Herodes Atticus (104?-180), who literally filled Athens with new buildings. The sculptures of the stage of the Theatre of Dionysus remain to bear witness to the beauty of Hadrianic art (Fig. 406). In Palestine, he transformed Jerusalem into *Ælia Capitolina*; in Egypt he founded the city of Antinoë or Antinoupolis in memory of his favourite. "*Municipia Ælia*," writes Rostowzew, "are common in the Danube lands, and cities with the name of Hadrianopolis or similar designations are frequent in the Greek-speaking parts of the Balkan peninsula and in Asia Minor." In Asia Minor, as in Africa, he turned mere villages into cities. These Hadrianic foundations, like



FIG. 407.—THE LION OF CORBRIDGE.

those of Trajan, naturally continued to afford opportunities for the development of architecture and the other arts. In the west (Gaul and Spain) and north also, the much-travelled Emperor everywhere left traces of his activity—not less so in Britain, where he is immortalized in the Great Wall and rampart thrown across between the Solway Firth on the west and Wallsend on the east. The Wall indeed remains an almost inexhaustible mine of information for the history of provincial sculpture from the time of its erection to the end of the Empire (Fig. 407). Nor must we forget that one of the finest of Hadrian's portraits, the colossal bronze head now in the British Museum, was found in the River Thames.

Much remains to be done before the real trend of art in the period of Hadrian is clear to us. To represent him as purely the eclectic leader of a classic revival would, as we have seen, be only a half-truth. On the other hand, it would be an exaggeration to hold that Rivoira's defence of the originality of the Emperor's architecture need apply equally to the other art manifestations of his reign. Imperial Roman art becomes complicated in the extreme under Hadrian, and one of the tasks of archæology is to disentangle the strands of the skein. Hadrian was dubbed *varius multiplex multiformis* by his biographers, but this character attaches only in measure to the art produced during his Principate, and we should

## ART IN ANCIENT ROME

guard against looking upon him as a mere literary and artistic dilettante, "a scholar rather than a soldier." It is indeed a marvel that a man who had visited Greece repeatedly should have steered so free of Greek influence in his building schemes for Rome. To talk of the Hadrianic ideal as "stale classicism" which claimed to be a revival of Greek art is simply nonsense. The sculpture of his period, the Roman quality and strength of reliefs such as the "Burning of the Taxes" at Chatsworth and the two Apotheosis reliefs of the Conservatori, are enough to show that Hadrianic art carried on the noble traditions of the Trajanic period, though technique and composition might show Atticizing and classicizing traits. Whether this was a gain or not—whether the progress of sculpture was accelerated or retarded in the process, is a question that can only be seriously discussed when the chronology of Hadrianic sculpture is better established than it is at present. Probably this can best be done with the coinage as basis, when we are in possession of an analytical survey of the coins of his reign. Meanwhile there is little sign of Hadrian's ever having wished to be classed with the Greeks or to be looked upon as leader of any Hellenic revival. He was profoundly Roman at heart and, like Augustus, aspired to be regarded as founder of Rome and to be associated in this aspect with Romulus. The coin *Romulo Conditore* is as much in honour of the Emperor as of the mythical founder of the *Urbs*, and it is in this light that we should study the art of the Hadrianic period.

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FIG. 408.—SARCOPHAGUS WITH LEGEND OF ADONIS.  
(Lateran.)

## CHAPTER XVI

### ART UNDER THE ANTONINES (A.D. 138-192): THE IMPERIAL IDEA IMPRESSED UPON THE MONU- MENTS OF ROME AND THE PROVINCES

HADRIAN'S immediate successor, Antoninus Pius (138-161), was imbued with a like love towards Rome. A magnificent series of medallions representing the early legends of the city (arrival of Æneas in Italy; Nativity of the Twins; Miracle of Attus Nævias; Horatius Cocles, etc.), was issued in 147 to celebrate the Secular Games on the nine hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the *Urbs*. The privileges granted on this occasion to Ilium, mythical home of the race, and to other cities connected with the beginnings of Rome, show Antoninus following in the footsteps of his adopted father and of Augustus, and setting an example afterwards remembered, it seems, by Constantine (p. 185). The impulse given to architecture by Hadrian did not, however, continue unspent after his death. Under Antoninus Pius, there was much building and rebuilding, but no original note was struck, nor were traditional principles transmuted into living formulas. After the brilliant examples of circular construction afforded by the Pantheon and the Hadrianic Mausoleum, a reaction set in which betrayed itself in a distinct preference for more conventional rectangular systems. Two monuments, the one commemorative, the other sepulchral, illustrate the new tendency.



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§ 1. *The Temple of the Deified Hadrian and of Antoninus and Faustina.*—The first is the Hadrianeum or temple of the deified Hadrian, the stately remains of which, long incorrectly attributed to a Temple of Neptune, are to be seen in the modern Piazza di Pietra. The Hadrianeum rose on a huge podium; it was octostyle, with fifteen columns on each side. The remaining columns, together with a considerable portion of the wall of the cella, including part of the fine cofferings of the vaulted ceiling, belong to the north side of the temple. The order strikingly resembles that of Caracalla's Temple of Sarapis; the fine stylobate is being disengaged by the care of the Italian Government. The barrel-vaulting was probably imitated from that of the Temple of Venus and Rome, while the curved frieze was so far as we know the earliest of its kind in Rome. On the projection of the podium or stylobate below each column the figure of



FIG. 409.—PODIUM OF HADRIANEUM.  
(Restoration in Terme.)

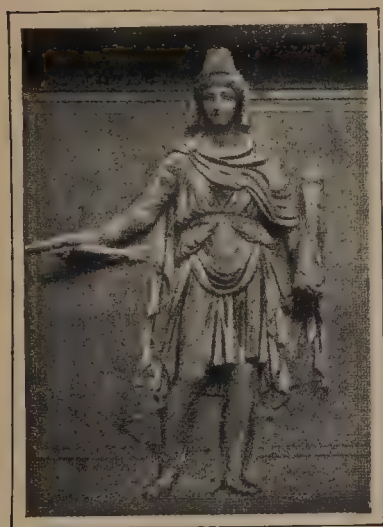


FIG. 410.—PROVINCE FROM HADRIANEUM.  
(Naples.)

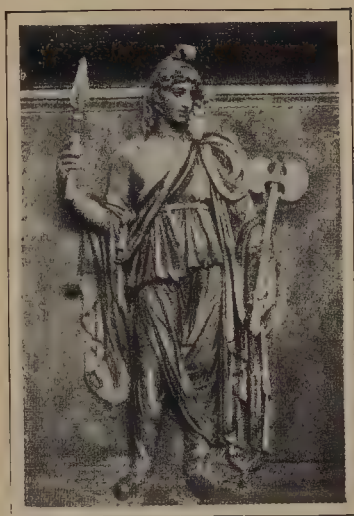


FIG. 411.—PROVINCE FROM HADRIANEUM.  
(Naples.)

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a province was carved in relief, while a trophy of arms, recalling the trophies on the altar balustrade of Pergamon, decorated the panels beneath the intercolumniation (Fig. 409). A number of the slabs with provinces are preserved in the Museo dei Conservatori, in the Palazzo Odescalchi, at Naples and elsewhere (Figs. 410, 411). The temple was surrounded by a portico, probably two-storeyed, which was partly laid bare in 1878; its entrances on the north and south sides were flanked by columns of *giallo antico*.



FIG. 412.—TEMPLE OF ANTONINUS AND FAUSTINA.  
(Detail.)

The Hadrianeum can hardly have been completed when Antoninus was called upon to build a temple to the memory of his consort Faustina, who died in the third year of his Principate, and who at once received the honours of apotheosis. The site chosen was on the east side of the Forum, immediately south of the Basilica Æmilia. The temple with its high stylobate and its deep portico remains almost intact,

forming one of the grandest and most familiar features of the Forum. It was approached by a flight of some twenty-one steps; about half-way up we still see the brick core of the altar for sacrifices (recently restored). The peperino walls of the cella were once faced with marble. The greater part of the beautiful frieze is preserved; it exhibits pairs of griffins facing each other in heraldic poses, with a candelabrum between each pair, a suitable decoration for a temple to the deified dead, since the griffin sacred to Apollo often appears on funeral monuments as a means of transit to convey the deified soul to the gods, or, as here, guarding the purifying fire (Fig. 412). These griffins, placed on the temple of the deified Empress, ring an Apolline note which harks back to Augustus. The motive was common to all periods of the antique, and is found wherever Greek or Roman influence penetrated—at Delphi and at Jerusalem, on sarcophagi of Antonine date, and as far east as Hatra, in S.E. Mesopotamia (Fig. 413). The Temple of Antoninus and Faustina became celebrated

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throughout the Empire and seems to have served as model for the Temple at Eborac in Portugal (Fig. 414).

§ 2. *Antonine Sculpture*.—It is as yet difficult to make definite attribution of sculpture to the Principate of Antoninus Pius. The griffins of the temple frieze are examples of bold and effective relief, not in the least deserving the ignoble condemnation of Ruskin, who seeks to establish a comparison to their disadvantage between them and the griffins of mediæval art. In the Albani collection is a panel recording a public benefaction, on which Antoninus (restored), who is attended by the allegorical figures of Abundantia and Rome, is seen distributing corn (H.A. 1875). The left side of the relief, which contained the figures of the recipients of the Imperial bounty, has now disappeared. To the same period belong two reliefs in the Palazzo Rondanini, one of which reproduces a scene that reappears on a medallion of Antoninus. It represents a river-god, presumably the Tiber, holding out a cup to catch the water that flows from a large urn, while a bearded snake darts forward from a rock towards the stream of water, the whole being apparently an allegory of the cult of Asclepios (Sc. R., Fig. 148). Another monument, the group of a sow and her young, in the Vatican (Sc. R., Fig. 14), I should feel inclined to bring down to this period, and to connect with the events commemorated in the coins struck in honour of the Secular Games (Cohen II, 450, coins with sow of Lanuvium).



FIG. 413.—GRIFFIN GUARDING THE VASE OF LIFE.  
(Hatra.)



FIG. 414.—TEMPLE AT EVORA.



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§ 3. *The Principates of Marcus Aurelius (161–180) and of Commodus (177–192)—The Antonine Column.*—The earliest monument of the new Principate was probably the commemorative



FIG. 415.—COLUMN OF MARCUS AURELIUS.

column put up by Marcus Aurelius and his co-regent Lucius Verus to the memory of Antoninus Pius. It consisted of a monolithic Doric column of red granite twenty-five metres high, raised on a massive marble basis. This basis (now in the Giardino della Pigna of the Vatican, *Sc. R.*) is decorated with reliefs on three sides, while the long inscription fills the remaining face. The relief on the front represents the Apotheosis of the Imperial couple, and on either side are shown the *decursiones* or cavalry contests which took place on the occasion of an Imperial funeral. The magnificent diagonal design of the front follows the lines of the Hadrianic "Apotheosis of an Empress," but the attempt to show in perspective the gyrations of the horsemen is extraordinarily naïve and can

hardly be called successful. Near to the column rose the *ustrinum* or place of cremation of the Antonines; fragments of its decorative reliefs, deeply undercut in Antonine style, were recovered a few years ago and may be seen in the Terme (H.A. 1527).



FIG. 416.—COLUMN OF MARCUS AURELIUS.  
(Detail.)

§ 4. *The Column of Marcus Aurelius—Sculpture from his Arches.*—In the same locality rose the column set up, in imitation of that of Trajan, as a record of the campaigns of Marcus Aurelius against the Marcomanni and the Sarmatians in A.D. 172–175 (Fig. 415). It is probably the greatest artistic achievement of the period. The story of the two campaigns is told in pictorial reliefs—co-ordinated after the continuous

style—on the twenty-one windings of the spiral which encircles the column. The method of narration closely follows at times that of the Trajanic monument, certain episodes of the later spiral being



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clearly modelled on those of the earlier, yet there are many original traits in the Aurelian column, e.g. compacter grouping, a tendency to centralization, a deeper emotion, and a more vivid sympathy with human suffering (Fig. 416). The artist was guided in the main lines of his design by the earlier composition, but he vivified it by his own conception of isolated episodes and individual personages. In the same style as the reliefs of the column, but on a larger scale, are a number of panels likewise commemorating the northern wars of Marcus, from two or more arches erected in his honour; a series of eight, transferred in antiquity, perhaps in the third century, to the Arch of Constantine (Sc. R., Figs. 153-160), seems from its style to be the earliest in date; three more panels from a later series are in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (Figs. 417 and 418). A similar panel, probably from a third series, is in the Museo Torlonia alla Lungara (Fig. 419). The fragment of a triumphal procession in the Terme (Fig. 420) possibly belonged to still another arch. Part of the procession is disappearing through an arch on the right, while other figures carry a litter decorated with garlands suspended from *bucrania* and laden with trophies and effigies of conquered barbarians.

§ 5. *Historic Reliefs—Sarcophagi and Sculpture in the Round.*—By the side of the crowded pictorial reliefs of the Aurelian column we also find an



FIG. 417.—SACRIFICE OF MARCUS AURELIUS.  
(Relief in Conservatori.)



FIG. 418.—TRIUMPHAL ENTRY OF  
MARCUS AURELIUS.  
(Relief in Conservatori.)

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FIG. 419.—BARBARIAN SUPPLIANTS.  
(Museo Torlonia.)

splendour imposed by Roman conception of the Imperial deification, we see Marcus in the chariot of the Apotheosis, which is led upwards by Helios, and escorted by the Moon and the Stars (Fig. 422). The frieze, which is now at Vienna, probably adorned a long podium, and may have commemorated the Parthian victories of 165.

A number of fragments of a long frieze, the finer and best preserved of which are in the Vatican and in the Museo Mussolini on the Capitol, are clearly Antonino-Aurelian in technique, though subject—battle of the gods and the giants—and design derive ultimately from Hellenistic, perhaps Asiatic, models. Many of the motives have the beauty and force of originals, *e.g.* the Artemis and Hecate (or perhaps Leto?) of the slab reproduced here (Fig. 423), and the young winged goddess—presumably Iris—who flies across the composition in diagonal line in the slab at the Museo Mussolini.

Fine and instructive examples of Antonine sculpture are to be found in its sarcophagi. Here the main achievement of the period is the discovery of the beautiful type of sarcophagus

attempt at a more classical arrangement, such as had already been affected under Hadrian, in a relief in the Villa Albani, which records the institutions for poor girls set up by Faustina (Fig. 421). A brilliant example of vigorous composition is afforded by the noble frieze discovered at Ephesus, where the triumph and apotheosis of Marcus Aurelius are represented. On one slab we see the Emperor with his co-regent Lucius Verus and the boy Commodus between them. On another, which combines the best qualities of a Greek design with a new



FIG. 420.—FRAGMENT OF TRIUMPHAL  
PROCESSION.  
(Terme.)

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FIG. 421.—THE PUELLÆ FAUSTINIANÆ.  
(Villa Albani.)

adorned with niches, within and between which are placed figures or groups. The massive architecture with its recesses alternately crowned by a shell niche and a pediment has an Oriental origin, and has been traced back to fashions developed in Asia Minor and in Syria. The statuary of the intercolumniations, on the other hand, is imitated and often directly copied from Greek models of fourth century date, but even the borrowed elements are combined and transmuted in a perfectly original manner which is Roman.

A splendid example may be seen at Melfi, near Venosa (Fig. 424). Here the portrait of the dead woman on the lid is so clearly Antonine as to leave no possibility of doubt as to the date of the sarcophagus. On the left side is a door symbolizing the gate



FIG. 422.—IMPERIAL APOTHEOSIS FROM EPHESUS.  
(Vienna.)



FIG. 423.—BATTLE OF GODS AND GIANTS.  
(Relief in Vatican.)



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of the tomb, or else that of the other world, flanked by a Hermes Psychopompus and a female mourner. The centre of

each of the other sides occupied respectively by images of Aphrodite, of Helen, and of Persephone; each of these figures being a form of apotheosis of the deceased, while the flanking figures are conceived as attendant on the central divinity. The sarcophagus resembles some splendid catafalque, translated into marble, and affords a commentary of the first importance on the religious beliefs



FIG. 424.—SARCOPHAGUS AT MELFI.

of the time as regards a blessed after-life.

In the Riccardi Palace at Florence is another sarcophagus similarly decorated (Fig. 425). Within the central niche of one of its long sides stand the occupants of the tomb, represented as bride and bridegroom, between a woman—presumably the *pronuba*—and a man in armour; each corner niche contains a figure of the Dioscuri who preside over the alternations of day and night, and are present here as on numberless sarcophagi to symbolize the passage from life to death, and through death to immortality. Among “marriage” sarcophagi of the later Antonine period, the most nobly conceived is the one at Mantua with the group of bride and bridegroom, standing in front of Juno Pronuba and united by Eros. Closely akin to the Mantua example is the sarcophagus in S. Lorenzo fuori, (used for the tomb of Cardinal Fieschi), where a similar marriage group occupies the right half of the main face (R.R. III, 320). Mythological subjects continued to be commonly represented. The



FIG. 425.—SARCOPHAGUS IN RICCARDI PALACE, FLORENCE.

frieze-like composition of Hadrianic sarcophagi is gradually replaced by more centralized schemes—a good example in the Lateran (Fig. 408), where the



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group of Adonis, wounded but deified, with the goddess at his side, forms the centre as it were of a triptych, on the two wings of which are represented the departure (left) and the actual catastrophe (right).

Among purely religious subjects are numerous Mithraic altarpieces, though these rarely reached a high level of excellence. Their appeal as a rule is to the mystic who apprehends the reality behind the symbol, rather than to the artist or art-lover. The example from the Mithræum of the Capitol, now in the Louvre (Fig. 426), is superior in execution and conception to the great mass of these reliefs; the bull is well modelled, and the figure of the torch-bearer

has a pathetic grace, though Mithras, with his classic pose and somewhat empty gesture, lacks the fire and emotion which sometimes inspires more provincial renderings of the same scene, such, for instance, as the Mithras in the relief from Osterburken (*Sc. R.*, Fig. 190).



FIG. 426.—MITHRAIC ALTAR-PIECE.  
(Louvre.)

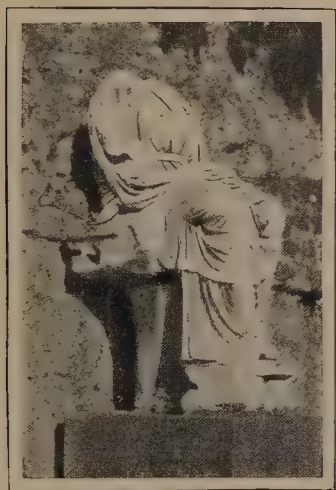


FIG. 427.—CYBELE.  
(Palatine.)



FIG. 428.—CYBELE FROM BAALBEK.  
(Constantinople.)

## ART IN ANCIENT ROME

The strong religious tendencies of the Antonine period make themselves felt in the sculpture in the round. The influence of the

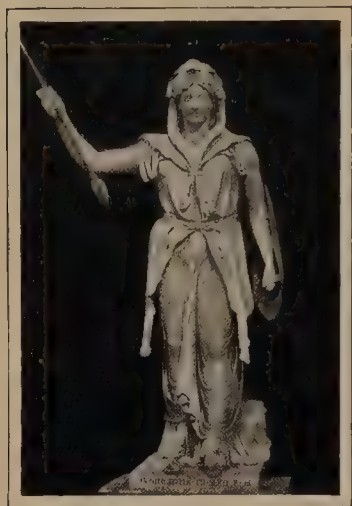


FIG. 429.—JUNO FROM LANUVIUM.  
(Vatican.)

somewhat later date, is the procession in her honour carved on a sarcophagus in the cloister of S. Lorenzo, *fuori* (R.R. III, 321, 1),



FIG. 430.—ANTONINUS PIUS.  
(Terme.)

personal devotion of Antoninus Pius and his consort towards the Magna Mater may be traced in a number of works: the bronze chariot of the Great Mother in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, with the seated image of the goddess on a richly decorated car drawn by lions; the seated Cybele found in or near her temple on the Palatine (Fig. 427); another version of Cybele (with head intact) found at Formiæ (Ny Carlsberg); the statue found at Baalbek and now at Constantinople, that recalls the effigies of the Palatine and of Formiæ (Fig. 428)—all bear witness to the new popularity which the cult enjoyed from the time of the Elder Faustina onward.<sup>1</sup> Another equally interesting monument of the cult of Cybele, but in relief and of

where the actual lion-drawn car of the goddess is seen carried on a "stretcher." Scenes of her ritual and her procession also adorn an altar, now in an English private collection (*J.R.S.*, VII, 1917, Pl. VIII). To the same cycle of temple images discussed above, belongs the Juno Sospita (Juno with the goatskin) from Lanuvium (Fig. 429), in the Vatican. In the various statues in the round there is the same tendency as in relief to work in depth so as to produce powerful contrasts of light and dark.

§ 6. *Portraiture from Antoninus Pius to Commodus.*—The portraits

<sup>1</sup> The head of the sphinx which adorned the throne of the goddess has been recovered by S. Reinach.

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of Antoninus and of Marcus Aurelius are not always inspired; among the best of the former is the head in the Terme (Fig. 430), with quiet observant glance. The features of his wife, the handsome and imperious Faustina, are known from several portraits, the best of which is perhaps the bust in Naples with the coloured marble drapery. The Marcus on horseback (Fig. 431), which stood near the Lateran throughout the Middle Ages and since 1538 on the Capitol, whither it was moved by Michelangelo, affords us the earliest complete example of an imperial equestrian statue; the apparent fault in showing the figure leaning over too much to the left is seemingly due to unskilful restoration; moreover, the figure of a barbarian—now lost—who, with hands bound behind his back, was placed as a support under the raised forefoot of the horse, must, when in place, have given a compacter effect to the whole group. The young Marcus Aurelius of the Capitol (Fig. 432) is a masterpiece of psychological interpretation; the pensive melancholy and abstracted expression separate it once and for all from the brilliant idealizations made fashionable in the portraiture of Alexander and his successors. It is well to compare it with the portrait of the young Commodus, son of Marcus, in the same collection (Fig. 433); the sensual beauty of the young prince's face is in marked contrast to the delicate refinement of the father at about the same age. The features of the younger Faustina, who, for all her sins, real or invented, must have been a woman of singular beauty and charm, are known from countless busts and statues. One of the best is the lovely



FIG. 431.—MARCUS AURELIUS.  
(Capitol.)

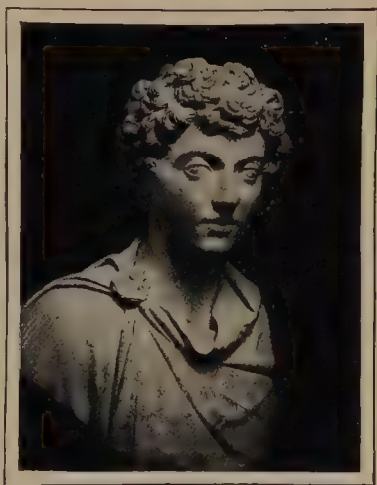


FIG. 432.—YOUNG MARCUS AURELIUS.  
(Capitol.)

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portrait in the Terme (*Sc. R.*, Pl. LXXII); the features are aristocratic, the mouth proud yet senuous, the eyes well shaped and



FIG. 433.—YOUNG COMMODUS.  
(Capitol.)

slightly prominent, the rich hair is waved simply backward and knotted on the nape in classic style, a reaction from the fantastic coiffures of the preceding periods. Between the portraits of the younger Faustina and those of her daughter Lucilla we observe precisely the same subtle difference as between those of Marcus and of Commodus, there is a coarsening of all the features; what in the mother was only an irregularity which added piquancy to the face jars in the daughter through over-emphasis. The rounded contours of Faustina become full and heavy in her daughter, whose eyes are as prominent as her lips are thick and sensual (Fig. 434). Among

the sepulchral portraiture of women the statue recently found near Rome and now a treasure of the Museo delle Terme takes foremost rank (*Frontispiece* and Fig. 435). It represents a young and beautiful woman—from the hair-dressing, of about the period of Lucilla—draped in a long robe and with ample veil drawn over her head. It is probably the most perfect Roman figure in existence, and shows what Roman sculptors could accomplish when they threw overboard the paralyzing influence of Greece.

It may be compared with the stately figure of a woman at Constantinople (*Sc. R.*, Fig. 238); while of somewhat later date is the recumbent statue of the Melfi sarcophagus. As a fact, a new idea of womanhood, at once more tender and more spiritual, becomes apparent at this time. Is Christianity



FIG. 434.—LUCILLA.  
(Capitol.)



somehow responsible? In the Catacomb of Priscilla, for instance, there is a "Madonna and Child with the prophet Isaiah pointing to the star," datable to the second century, in which Pompeian grace of outline and modelling are inspired by a new sentiment, by a new conception of motherhood unknown to ancient art, which pre-announces the Madonnas of Raphael.

The second century from Trajan to Severus was not only dominated by the Stoic faith, whose tenets have left many traces in the sepulchral and other arts, but Christianity was beginning to hold its own in the Empire and the interaction of religious forces could not be without its effect on monuments and art.

The portraits of Commodus are numerous. The most remarkable is the famous half figure in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, in which he is represented as Hercules with club and lion-skin (*Sc. R.*, Fig. 233). The elaborate delicacy of the execution is exactly suited to the young Emperor's handsome yet decadent features, while the representation of him as Hercules was consonant with the religious policy of the time. It is a commonplace of old-fashioned archæology to call this bust "the worst piece of sculpture extant from antiquity." What shocks the Hellenists is the combination of a fragile support with a heavy half-bust. The combination is doubtless a mistake, but affords no excuse for overlooking the fine half-figure with its severe self-contained silhouette. The whole was polished to imitate ivory; the hair was probably gilt, and the portrait intended to be seen gleaming like a chryselephantine image in the penumbra of a shrine. The effigy of Hercules-Commodus, symbolic of the association of the Imperial cult with that of the ancient Latin divinity, who was also the enduring hero of the Stoics, became popular in the Provinces, and, as has been recently shown, was specially so in Britain. Noteworthy also is the magnificent Commodus bust of gilt bronze inlaid with silver, wearing the cosmic stellated cap in the Salting Coll. of the Victoria and Albert Museum. It stands on a basis



FIG. 435.—SEPULCHRAL STATUE OF  
ROMAN LADY.  
(Detail.) (Terme.)

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adorned with the pastoral motive of Pan milking a goat, in allusion, no doubt, to the mystic milking of the Orphic cults.

The hunchback of the Villa Albani (Fig. 436), perhaps an imaginary portrait of Æsop, has a subtle pathos not easy to match

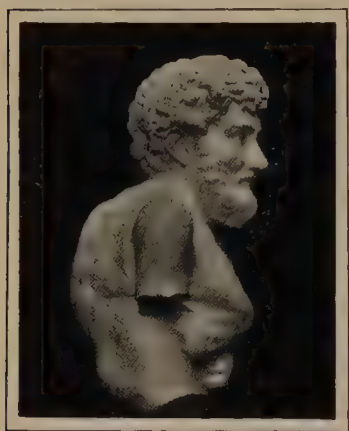


FIG. 436.—ÆSOP.  
(Villa Albani.)

in any portraiture. Another example of this type of portrait, based on Greek tradition but executed in the Antonine period, is afforded by the statuette of Socrates, recently acquired by the British Museum. The statue in the Vatican library, representing Ælius Aristides (A.D. 117–180?), a distinguished sophist of the time of Marcus Aurelius, is a contemporary but little known portrait. The inscription of the plinth, however, is said to be not above suspicion. The Antonine heads of children are second to none in charm; their likeness to the ruling family is enough to prove that many of them, including the boy's head at Arles, once thought

to be the "young Marcellus" (Fig. 437) and the young prince in the Capitol (Hekler 271*b*), are members of the Imperial family.

§ 7. *Painting and Mosaic in the Antonine Period.*—What painting has survived from the age of the Antonines still has high technical quality and, like the sarcophagi and much of the sculpture in relief, bears witness to freshness of inspiration derived from new religious stirrings.

The famous tombs of the Pancratii and the Valerii on the Via Latina are storehouses of decorative art, besides illustrating current religious beliefs as to the immortality of man and the rewards and punishments that await him in an ultramundane existence. Thus the Tomba dei Valerii (Fig. 438) has a barrel-roof entirely covered with delicate decoration in white stucco, composed of alternate round and square panels. Within the circles are Nereids riding sea-monsters, Nymphs ravished by Satyrs and similar conceptions; while the central compartment contains the group of a woman



FIG. 437.—HEAD OF BOY.  
(Arles.)

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riding on a griffin, symbolic of the passing of the soul, *i.e.* the transit of the soul to the realms of life by the agency of the mythical animal consecrated to Apollo. In the lunette facing the entrance a female figure recently identified as Terra Mater stands within branching acanthus scrolls and supports a panel within which are depicted the Three Seasons—symbols of the flight of time. The two chambers of the so-called Tomba dei Pancratii opposite, offer further interesting examples of combined painting and stucco (Fig. 439). The innermost chamber has a ceiling covered with allegorical scenes in relief borrowed from mythology. These subjects alternate with little "sacred idyllic" landscape showing the shrines, sacred enclosures and cult pillars which we have already noted in Augustan landscape painting (Farnesina, Columbarium of Villa Pamphili, House of Livia, etc.). In the centre of the ceiling the Apotheosis of Jupiter, emblematic of the apotheosis of the soul, knits the different subjects together in one supreme vision. An allegorical intention also inspired the choice of the various scenes which decorate the lunettes of the walls—Admetus before Alcestis, yoking the boar and the lion (dual forces of the soul), facing the reception of Hercules into Olympus (Heaven), the Judgment of Paris (Last Judgment) facing the "Ransom of the Body of Hector" (Divine Mercy). The delicate quality of the relief, the subtlety of the modelling, the precision of the outline, show that stuccoists were not failing as yet either in technique



FIG. 438.—STUCCOED LUNETTE.  
(Tomba dei Valerii.)



FIG. 439.—TOMBA DEI PANCRAII. DETAIL  
OF LUNETTE AND CEILING.

and the Sphinx; nymphs bathing Pegasus and decking him with roses, recently explained as a symbol of the *refrigerium animæ*;



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Hades bearing away Persephone (Fig. 440), *i.e.* the Rape of the Soul, etc.) Some of the best preserved pictures were long ago removed to England and are now in the British Museum; others remain *in situ*, where they have become almost unrecognizable owing to the damp, others again are only known through old publications, untrustworthy as to detail.



FIG. 440.—HADES BEARING AWAY PERSEPHONE.  
From Tomba dei Nasonii (British Museum).

The same combination of painted and moulded decoration as in the Via Latina tombs occurs in the recently discovered tombs beneath the basilica of S. Sebastiano. The vaults in two of these are divided into hexagonal or circular panels, with stucco rosettes and other ornaments in the centre (Fig. 441). In another tomb the decoration is painted; on the space over an arch two birds (symbols of the soul) are seen pecking at a naturalistically represented glass vase full of fruit—another symbol of the *refrigerium* (Fig. 442), while delicate tendrils trail over the rest of the walls and ceiling. Over another tomb, a magnificent peacock stands frontally. All these tombs are dated to the second half of the second century A.D. To the same period must be ascribed a forgotten tomb, not far from the Via Flaminia, covered with symbolic imagery carried out in delicate stucco-work, published in the eighteenth century by the Danish painter Cabott. Under S. Sebastiano again a Roman villa has been found with a painting of a seaport of the second century, in a style resembling the painting from the Villa of the Quintili (above, p. 98).



FIG. 441.—STUCCO DECORATION, S. SEBASTIANO.

Under S. Sebastiano again a Roman villa has been found with a painting

ing of a seaport of the second century, in a style resembling the painting from the Villa of the Quintili (above, p. 98).



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The religious preoccupation of the period finds further expression in the large wall-painting in a house of Antonine date below the present church of SS. John and Paul on the Cœlian (Fig. 443).

A comparison of the subject with that of a sarcophagus of somewhat later date in the Vatican (H.A. 132) shows that this is the representation of the *Ver Sacrum*, the Sacred Spring. The divinities of fertility, Venus with an attendant and Dionysos (or Liber, Libera and Venus), meet on the shore of the sea, upon which glide barks manned by little love-gods; it is the reawakening of land and water after their long winter sleep. The theme is thoroughly in the spirit of an age anxious to clothe in visible form new conceptions of resurrection. In another room, known as the triclinium, above a painted podium simulating marble in the early Pompeian style, runs a frieze with figures of divinities seen against garlands among birds, one being the peacock of immortality, while above, *putti* appear to be gathering fruit or flowers in a garden which is doubtless the pagan paradise. A series of figures in the Vatican (H.A. 415) from a villa at Tor Marancio, representing the sorrowing victims of illicit love, are indifferent copies of late Antonine date of some earlier classic original (Fig. 444). Religious themes also appear in mosaic, as in the fine Sacrifice of the Bulls at Ostia, still *in situ* in the chapel of the Augusteum (Fig. 445). The pathos of the slain beasts and the gestures of the attendants are inspired by a dramatic sense more proper perhaps to painting than to mosaic, but powerfully rendered in black and white.



FIG. 442.—BIRDS AND FRUIT, S. SEBASTIANO.

Religious themes also appear in mosaic, as in the fine Sacrifice of the Bulls at Ostia, still *in situ* in the chapel of the Augusteum (Fig. 445). The pathos of the slain beasts and the gestures of the attendants are inspired by a dramatic sense more proper perhaps to painting than to mosaic, but powerfully rendered in black and white.



FIG. 443.—WALL-PAINTING IN ANTONINE HOUSE ON CÆLIAN.

§ 9. *Sepulchral Architecture under the Antonines.*—Many of the fine family mausolea that border the Via Appia, the Via Latina and other great Roman roads

## ART IN ANCIENT ROME

were constructed at this date. The building material was usually red brick, not infrequently relieved by the use of white marble for the columns and other architectural details. The decoration of the sepulchral chambers was often elaborate, as we have already seen from the two most celebrated of the Via Latina tombs.



FIG. 444.—PASIPHAE AND THE BULL.  
(Vatican.)

Of similar character to the tombs are the memorial temples. Such, for instance, was the *Triopion* erected by Herodes Atticus to the memory of his wife Regilla, who had died in A.D. 160, and who, having held the high office of priestess of Demeter, could be associated in her temple with the Empress Faustina, who herself figured here as the "New Demeter." The *Triopion* is generally identified with the little church of Sant' Urbano, in the Valley of the Caffarella

(Fig. 446). The façade is still adorned with four white marble columns, that once stood free; above the architrave is a high attic of brick. Six Caryatids found not far from Sant' Urbano, but now scattered in various museums, probably adorned the interior of the temple. One of the finest is in the British Museum (Fig. 447); These figures repeat, with certain variations, Attic types of the fifth century; the shafts behind the head and back show that they were placed against a wall, possibly as supports of a projecting cornice within the cella. The baskets (*calathi*) on their heads indicate their relation to the *Triopian* Demeter, in whose ritual such baskets played a conspicuous part. Could their connection with the Heroon of Faustina and Demeter be definitely ascertained, we should have in these figures a precious example of the sculpture of the period 161–171.



FIG. 445.—SACRIFICE OF BULLS.  
(Mosaic at Ostia.)

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Their bold decorative character recalls the "provinces" of the stylobate of the Hadrianeum.

Not far from Sant' Urbano stands a temple, long misnamed that of the *Deus Rediculus*, now generally recognized as the actual tomb of Annia Regilla. It has four engaged pilasters, every detail of whose dainty brick decoration is admirably pre-

served (Fig. 448).

Similar in character is the

tomb, misnamed "Tempio della Fortuna Muliebre," at the fifth milestone of the Via Appia Nuova. A fine tomb, on the left of the Appian Way (long falsely identified as that of L. Veranius, the friend of Germanicus and accuser of Piso) is, to judge by the brickwork and the style of the architecture, purely Antonine. A high podium supports a super-structure adorned on the front face by a niche flanked by engaged columns; the angles

are protected by pilasters, and the roof was domical. At the second milestone on the Via Latina stands yet another tomb with engaged brick columns on the façade, and engaged columns supporting the cornice in the interior.

In a depression to the left of the Via Nomentana about three km. from the Porta Pia is the famous tomb known as the "Sedia del Diavolo" (Fig. 449), a square construction with flat engaged pilasters



FIG. 446.—SANT' URBANO.



FIG. 447.—CARYATID.  
(British Museum.)



FIG. 448.—TEMPLE-TOMB OF ANNIA REGILLA.

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of brick surmounted by marble capitals, and an architrave likewise of marble. The roof is domical on the exterior, the interior was in



*Photo. Ashby.]*

FIG. 449.—*SEDIA DEL DIAVOLO.*

two storeys; the upper chamber has a flat cupola on pendentives. On the left of the same road, a short way north of the Ponte Nomentano, near the so-called Casale dei Pazzi, is a second tomb of similar character with spherical vault on triangular pendentives. These seven examples will serve to make clear the character of this sepulchral architecture, which seems to have been introduced in the Antonine period, though some examples may be later.

The use of undisguised brick construction in the Antonine age was not confined to sepulchral buildings. It is seen also at Ostia, where the large apartment houses with their balconies

and exterior lighting (Fig. 450), the warehouses and granaries and the colonnades along the streets are almost exclusively built of brick, including the mouldings and decorative features, without any facing of stucco or plaster, a style of ornament which first appears, as we have seen, under Trajan (above, p. 74).

§ 10. *Antonine Art in the Provinces.*—In the half-century covered by the rule of the first Antonines the expansion of art in the provinces continued unabated. It was promoted in the first instance by the benefactions of wealthy Roman patrons, as at Athens, where Hadrian himself scarcely did more for the city than the millionaire Herodes Atticus (104–180), whose earlier buildings in that city coincided with the close of the Hadrianic Principate.



FIG. 450.—FOUR-STORYED HOUSE IN OSTIA.

“Rich citizens,” writes Rostowzew, “were ready to help and gave money freely for everything that was needed for a city; we may say that most of the beautiful public buildings in the cities of



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East and West were their gifts." This movement was as old as the Empire, but it culminated in the second century, thanks to the wealth accumulated during the long period of comparative peace enjoyed under the Antonines. Rostowzew has well pointed out that "the cities of the Roman Empire were, of course, not all of the same type. They varied in accordance with their



[Photo. G. B.]

FIG. 451.—TEMPLE OF AIZANOI.

historical evolution and with local conditions." Any study of Roman provincial art makes this evident. But here we can only give a few illustrations, taken almost haphazard from the magnificent cities of Asia Minor and of Africa. In Asia Minor the Temple of Aizanoi (Fig. 451); the great colonnades of Palmyra and of Olba (Figs. 452, 453); the aqueduct



[Photo. G. B.]

FIG. 452.—COLONNADES, OLBA.

at Tyana (Fig. 454); the buildings of Ephesos and the frieze glorifying Marcus Aurelius, noted above (p. 119). The great architectural triumph of the period was the magnificent Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus at Baalbek (Fig. 455). It marks the conquest of the East by Rome and the adoption in Syria of that combination of temple and pre-



[Photo. G. B.]

FIG. 453.—COLONNADES, OLBA.

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cinct which has been noted as a distinctive Roman development. In what is now Italian North Africa it is sufficient to recall the



FIG. 454.—AQUEDUCT AT TYANA.

magnificent Antonine remains at Tripoli (Arch of Marcus Aurelius with his apotheosis, Fig. 456), and the Antonine buildings of Leptis Magna, a city which reached its efflorescence under Septimius Severus (p. 165). These Roman cities of North Africa, now being excavated by the Italians, are matched in splendour by those of French Africa (e.g. Thugga or Dugga

with its wonderful Capitolium and tripartite cella of the time of Marcus Aurelius or Commodus), where the Antonines continued the building policy of Trajan, leaving it here again to the African dynasty of the Severi to push it to a point of utmost magnificence.

The same claim to variety can be set up for the art produced in every province. Tombs and sepulchral reliefs more especially acquired local characteristics which in Central Europe pre-announce mediæval sculpture and prepare its advent; striking examples are two circular medallions typical of Noricum and Pannonia, the one in the Museum of Klagenfurt, the other at Graz, in both of which the national headdress of the women—a folded kerchief—should be specially noted

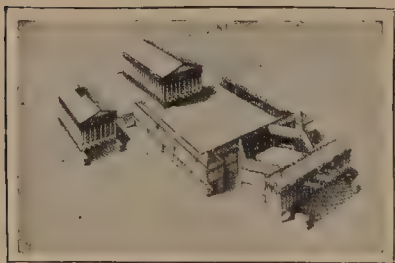


FIG. 455.—TEMPLE OF BALBEK (RESTORED).



FIG. 456.—ARCH OF MARCUS AURELIUS, TRIPOLI.

## ART UNDER THE ANTONINES

(Figs. 457, 458). The warrior from Celeia (Cilli) again (Fig. 459), who wears a splendid helmet with plumed frontlet, is more barbaric

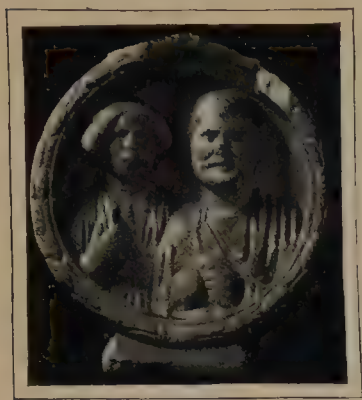


FIG. 457.—MEDALLION PORTRAIT.  
(Klagenfurt.)



FIG. 458.—MEDALLION PORTRAIT.  
(Graz.)

than Roman in the clumsy vigour of his outlines. The wonderful mask of Aquæ Sulis (Bath) within its concentric wreaths of foliage is, save for its subject, entirely non-classical (Fig. 460). In Eastern Europe, on the other hand, at Costanza, for instance, distinct Greek elements make themselves felt in the sculptured slab put up by a local Dionysiac thiasos for the prosperity of Marcus Aurelius (Fig. 461). The stele of Vibianus at Budapest (Fig. 462) falls within the more usual



FIG. 459.—THE WARRIOR OF  
CILLI.



FIG. 460.—MASK OF SOL.  
(Bath.)

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FIG. 461.—RELIEF IN HONOUR OF MARCUS AURELIUS, COSTANZA.

frontal art is afforded by the stele of Tiberius Claudius Saturninus at Bucharest (Fig. 464). Of great charm is the sepulchral ædicula from Maros Nemeti (Fig. 465). On the rear wall is carved the family group of father and mother with the little child standing in front of them; the tiny shrine is adorned with the common emblems of resurrection and immortality (pine-cone as central acroterion, flanked by lions devouring the mystic bull; snakes along the uprights, and flowers adorning the arcuated pediment). Some of the examples illustrated are later than Antonine, but their art

type of Roman tombstones. The figures are arranged in the stiff frontal manner of Italic Roman art, but the individual portraits are treated with singular force. The little frieze with personages grouped about a table of offerings has the barbaric roughness that meets us in a still higher degree in the Mithraic altar-piece from Sarajevo (Fig. 463). Another good example of



FIG. 462.—STELE OF VIBIANUS. (Budapest.)



FIG. 463.—MITHRAIC ALTAR-PIECE, SARAJEVO.

flowed from the inspiration that it received in this age, the characteristics of which are well summed up by Rostowzew:

The provincial "gifts and foundations of the second cen-



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ture . . . require to be more carefully collected and classified" he writes, and after a reference to the beauty and luxury of the funeral monuments, he goes on to say, "Is it not characteristic of the conditions of this period that the most beautiful monuments are now to be found, not in Rome or in Italy, but in the provinces? Such are the 'Mausolea' of Africa and Syria, real shrines for the cult of the deceased; the beautiful funeral altars and pavilions of Aquileia, the sculptured tombs all over Gaul, especially near Trèves, in Luxembourg, and near Arlon. Even in the new Danube lands we meet with large and expensive tombs; for example, the painted tomb adorned with statues of a landowner near Viminacium."

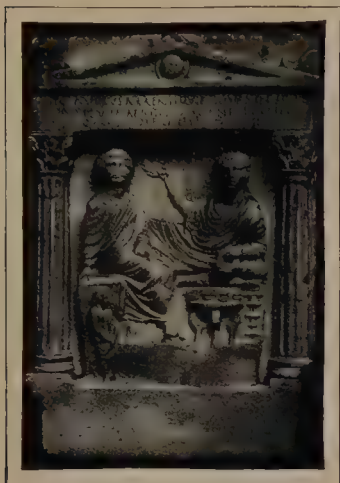


FIG. 464.—STELE.  
(Bucharest.)



FIG. 465.—EDICULA.  
(Maros Nemeti.)

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FIG. 466.—ROMAN FORUM WITH HOUSE OF VESTALS IN FOREGROUND.

## CHAPTER XVII

### THE DYNASTY OF THE SEVERI TO CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS (193-270): INFLUENCE UPON ART OF THE ORIENTAL RELIGIONS

A FIRE under Commodus (A.D. 191) had once again destroyed a large portion of the *Urbs*, and afforded an opportunity for extensive rebuilding. The Principate of Septimius Severus, accordingly—an African who was raised to the purple in 193—is remarkable for the building activity displayed both in Rome and in the provinces. Herein, moreover, Severus, like Vespasian before him, resembles Augustus, his monuments being, in a sense, reparations after a distressing period of mismanagement and of a civil war that only ended in 201, after which time he resided in Rome for six years, reorganizing the Empire and rebuilding the city. In this task he was ably seconded by his gifted Syrian consort, Julia Domna, who is responsible for the successful completion of many of the splendid monuments of his reign.

§ 1. *The Palatine and Septizonium—The House of the Vestals.*—Under Septimius magnificent chambers (*Thermæ*?) planned and begun by Domitian were added to the Imperial residence of the Palatine. For this purpose the hill was considerably enlarged on the southern side by means of a huge artificial platform carried on arched substructures similar to those employed under Hadrian for

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the enlargement of the hill on its north-east side. The long façade of the new buildings towards the Circus Maximus must have transformed the aspect of this part of the Palatine; the jagged and untidy ends

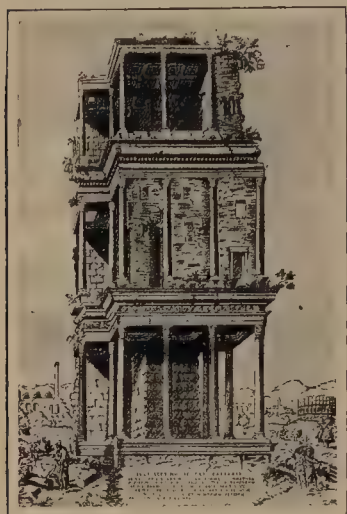


FIG. 467.—THE SEPTIZONIUM, DRAWN IN THE RENAISSANCE.

of the substructures were screened on the south by the celebrated Septizonium, an edifice which served at the same time as an ornamental façade fronting the Appian Way as it entered the city (Fig. 467). In the Middle Ages and early Renaissance a whole district including the Cœlian was called after the Septizonium, several churches and the ruins of the Imperial Palace being defined as *in Septizonio*. A considerable part of the structure stood up to the sixteenth century, when it threatened to fall and was finally destroyed for the sake of its building material by Domenico Fontana, the architect of Pope Sixtus V. The Septizonium was in reality a fountain or nymphæum, rising in



FIG. 468.—THIRD-CENTURY NYMPHÆUM.

three tiers each with its screen of columns, behind which were niches adorned with statuary. The name comes, it is said, from the statues of the seven planetary divinities of the week disposed in these niches. The structure anticipated the modern Fontana di Trevi, which likewise masks an awkward juncture, in this instance two converging streets. A similar construction, also known as a Septizonium, has been discovered at Lambæsis in Africa. Elaborate fountains continued in fashion under the immediate successors of Septimius. A striking example, attributed to Alexander Severus, rose on what is now a public garden in the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele. Its tall brick core with traces of niches still exists, and there is little doubt

that it was once richly reveted with marble and adorned with statuary; the two Domitianic trophies (p. 55), for instance, which



## DYNASTY OF SEVERI TO CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS

now stand on the balustrade of the Capitol, were incorporated with it, probably at the time of its erection. Not far from this fountain or nymphæum was another of approximately the same period, designed as a domed chamber with a pool in the centre and niches containing statues on the interior walls. It stood within the Licinian Gardens; its ruins, popularly known as the Temple of Minerva Medica from a statue found there, are still conspicuous near the railway (Fig. 468). The plan of this nymphæum is of great originality; and both it and the dome, with the conspicuous radiating ribs meeting in the centre, seem, as Rivoira points out, to have influenced later Byzantine architects.

In their present form the temple and house of the Vestals are largely the creation of Septimius and Julia Domna, to whose period must be referred the spacious cloister with its fountains and its two-storeyed portico, adorned with statues of the *virgines maximæ*. This portico was an admirable device for harmonizing the lower portions of the house on the side of the Forum with the high structure rising to four or five storeys on the south, against the Palatine. Most of the architectural fragments, cornice, coffers of ceiling and of colonnade, frieze with sacrificial implements, etc. from the circular temple of Vesta which lies in its immediate vicinity, come from the Severan restoration and show high technical capacity. This lovely little structure, well seen on the coin (Fig. 469), representing Julia Domna and the Vestals offering sacrifice in front of the *ædes*, contained only the sacred hearth and a mysterious recess (*the penus Vestæ*) within which were kept certain sacred relics, among them the *Palladium Troiæ*, with which the greatness and power of Rome were traditionally linked. The actual cult had retained the old primitive animistic character; but though no image was permitted within the *ædes* itself, one was placed in the *ædicula* outside, between the temple and the *ædes*. Of the shape of this image we know nothing; but if the many Roman statues of Vesta in any way recall it, it must have been a Roman adaptation of the Greek Hestia.



FIG. 469.—COIN OF JULIA DOMNA.

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§ 2. *The Arch of Severus and the Gateway of the Argentarii:* Relief in Palazzo Sacchetti.—On the north-east side of the



FIG. 470.—ARCH OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.

Forum rises the arch (Fig. 470) erected in 203 in honour of the Arabian campaign of Septimius Severus. The splendid monument makes his name and those of his sons Caracalla and Geta as famous as those of Vespasian and Titus. The arch has three passage-ways with coffered vaulting connected by means of transverse openings; on each façade the bases of the columns are decorated in relief with groups of Roman soldiers and barbarian prisoners (Fig. 471). Drawing and modelling show a still vivid

appreciation of form and line. What has been called the bird's-eye view perspective of the reliefs of the upper part was an innovation, influenced perhaps by Oriental models and producing a beautiful patterned surface—like an ancient tapestry. On the side facing the Capitol, which is the best preserved, we see on the right various scenes from the campaign, told in the familiar “continuous manner”: the Emperor with his suite setting out from a city gate; the Emperor addressing the troops; the siege of a city; etc., etc. Similar scenes are carved on the left, and further warlike episodes, now sadly defaced, adorn the south front of the arch. The narrow friezes below the large panels are important as representing the triumphal procession of the Emperor moving towards the seated Roma. On the keystone towards the Capitol is a figure of Mars; in the spandrels are Victories carrying trophies; while the lower angles are filled with figures of boys symbolizing on the left the Genius of Summer, on the right the Genius of Autumn. The southern face is adorned with similar emblematic figures, perhaps Spring and Winter. The

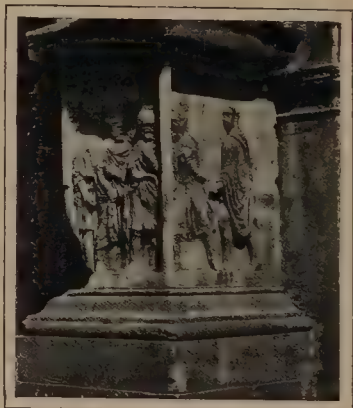


FIG. 471.—ARCH OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.  
(Detail of base.)

## DYNASTY OF SEVERI TO CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS

arch was the grandiose pedestal of a bronze gilt group, the Imperial quadriga, with statues of Septimius and his two sons.

Another characteristic arch of the period is that which carries over the Via Appia the aqueduct destined to feed the reservoir of the Baths of Caracalla; it has no sculptures, but the high base supporting disengaged columns seems imitated from the Arch of Septimius in the Forum (Fig. 472).

Of the same period as the arch in the Forum is the gateway that led from the Velabrum into the Forum Boarium, dedicated to Septimius and his consort in 204 by the quaintly combined guilds of the Silversmiths and Cattle-Merchants<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 473). It is a rectangular construction, "a flat lintel resting on two piers, and is entirely of marble except the base, which is of travertine" (Ashby). Both piers have Corinthian pilasters at the angles and



FIG. 472.—SO-CALLED ARCH OF DRUSUS.



FIG. 473.—GATE OF THE SILVERSMITHS IN VELABRUM.

offer narrow fields for decoration in addition to the inner and outer wall-surfaces of the little edifice. The main spaces are divided by a horizontal band into a larger upper panel decorated with a group or a figure in high relief, and a small oblong lower panel adorned with sacrificial scenes and the like. The best preserved among the reliefs is the group of Septimius and Julia Domna sacrificing, a fine frontal composition in which both figures face the spectator (Fig. 474). The Empress, who wears the Syrian veil and diadem and raises her hand, palm outward, in the Oriental gesture of adoration, is a peculiarly impressive figure,

<sup>1</sup> We may compare the Florentine guild of apothecaries and doctors which included painters and booksellers. On the *Argentarii*, however, see the art of J. Madaule quoted in Bibl.



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recalling in attitude and costume, certain Palmyrene effigies. A third figure, holding a caduceus (still visible), was possibly Plautilla, wife of Caracalla, as *Felicitas*.

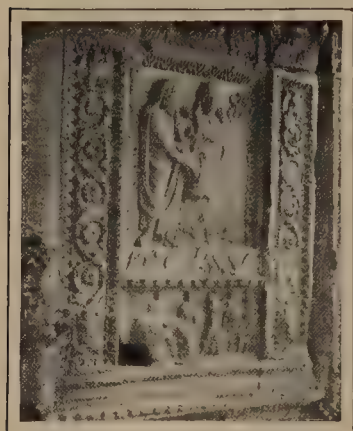


FIG. 474.—SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS AND JULIA DOMNA. RELIEF ON RIGHT OF PASSAGE WAY.

It must have been chiselled away, that the effigy of the unfortunate princess, who was divorced and eventually murdered, might disappear with all memory of her. Opposite is Caracalla sacrificing (the figure of the murdered Geta has, like that of Plautilla, been effaced from this panel). The uprights facing the forum were decorated each with a single figure (Publius Septimius Geta, brother of the Emperor, and Plautianus (?), father of Plautilla); the west face by a group of Romans and one of captive barbarians. On the attic of the southern face, on the left of the inscription (*C.I.L.*, vi, 1035), was a figure of

Hercules, whose cult in the region was famous, balanced on the right by a figure of Bacchus, who also was worshipped in a neighbouring temple, along with Ceres and Libera. Though their

execution is rather rough, these sculptures produce a finely patterned effect, enhanced by the rich mouldings, the finely foliated capitals and other ornaments.



FIG. 475.—RELIEF IN PALAZZO SACCHETTI.

One of the best reliefs of the time of Severus is in the courtyard of the Palazzo Sacchetti (Fig. 475); it shows the Emperor seated on a high podium with his sons and two other personages at his side, while a group of

eight *togati* advance into the Imperial presence from a gateway on the left. The glorification of the Imperial family, inspired by the dynastic pride of Severus, is the theme of this relief; as it is of those that decorate the arches.



## DYNASTY OF SEVERI TO CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS

§ 3. *The Thermæ Antoninianæ*.—It is to Severus that we owe the inception of these grandiose Thermæ, commonly known as the Baths of Caracalla, who inaugurated them in 116, though they were only completed under his successors, Elagabalus and Alexander Severus (Fig. 476). We have often had occasion to speak of the great Thermæ or Baths which were among the most significant architectural achievements of ancient Rome, but the earlier Thermæ, like those of Titus and Trajan, have either disappeared or can only be laboriously made out from the scanty traces of their ground-plans. For a real knowledge of these structures which have had so important an influence on the architecture of Europe, and which are the admitted prototypes of the church with vaulted nave, we must turn to the Baths of Caracalla, which represent as a fact the high-water mark of the development. The huge enclosing peribolos deserves close study: extensive colonnades ran along its front and sides as far as the two spacious exedræ, while against its back wall were tiers of curving steps arranged like those of a theatre, that masked the reservoir of the aqueduct. This theatre-like recess recalls a similar contrivance on the ground-plan of the Trajanic Thermæ. It reappears on a still grander scale in the magnificent exedra of the Baths of Diocletian; but the peribolos of the Baths of Caracalla differs from other examples in combining this large central exedra with smaller exedræ in the lateral walls; the influence of the numerous exedræ of the Trajanic Forum (p. 74) may be operative here. The Caracallan Baths differ from the Trajanic in isolating the main building entirely in the centre of the peribolos, an arrangement repeated later in the Baths of Diocletian. Recent excavation in the enclosure has also revealed the existence of a large and well-preserved Mithræum with a few sculptures and paintings belonging to the ritual.

In the main building the celebrated octagonal chamber (*caldarium*), with its dome carried on pendentives, is not more important architecturally than the magnificent central hall (*tepidarium*) with its groined vaulting, upheld by interior buttresses concealed within the walls of the halls adjoining it on each side, a principle that



FIG. 476.—THERMÆ ANTONINIANÆ, CENTRAL HALL.

## ART IN ANCIENT ROME

reappears in Baroque construction. The various halls and the park-like enclosure were decorated with famous groups of statuary. Among



FIG. 477.—CAPITAL, BATHS OF CARACALLA.

these were the Hercules signed by Glycon, the Punishment of Dirce, by Apollonius and Tauriscus, the Flora, the Hercules and Lichas, all of which once formed part of the Farnese collection, and are now in Naples. These are copies or adaptations of older sculpture; but the high level of art maintained under the Severi appears in the beautiful architectural fragments still on the spot, and in the noble composite capitals, with figures carved between the volutes, which help to support the abacus. These figures again are inspired by

older models: the Hercules (Fig. 477) is really a transcript of the Hercules Farnese, but form and feeling have been brought into complete harmony with the architectural function imposed upon the figure. The pavements were resplendent with mosaics; those from the two apses of the palestræ, now arranged in the Lateran Museum representing gladiators, are the best known, but seem to belong to a late restoration (Fig. 478).

Herbert Koch finely sums up the Roman characteristics of these Baths:

“There can be no comparison here with Greek architecture; and, as in the case of the Pantheon, it must again be pointed out that though technical features, brickwork and styles of vaulting may be traceable to Oriental sources, yet at no time did the Orient produce of itself any similar work. In the Middle Ages the realm of Islam grew famous for its magnificent baths, but it owes this fame to the work of Roman architects. In the Pantheon, the Basilica of Maxentius and the Imperial Baths, space was created wherein the European Middle Ages might breathe.” (Herbert Koch, *Römische Kunst*.)

Above all, these Thermæ possess, like the Forum of Trajan and the Pantheon of Hadrian, that quality of



FIG. 478.—MOSAIC FROM BATHS OF CARACALLA.

(Lateran.)

## DYNASTY OF SEVERI TO CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS

space which is as characteristic of the architecture of Imperial Rome as it was of French architecture under Louis XIV and Napoleon.

In considering the whole complex we must remember that the removing of earlier houses on the site, the leveling of its vast area and the cutting of an unusually broad street (the *Via Nova*) parallel to the front of the *Thermæ* constitute in themselves an important piece of town planning. We have referred above to the arch over the *Via Appia* that carries the aqueduct belonging to the *Thermæ*.



FIG. 479.—PORTICO OF OCTAVIA.

§ 4. *Principates of Caracalla (211–217), Elagabalus (218–222) and Alexander Severus (222–235)*—*Temples of Sarapis and of Sol.*—Besides erecting new buildings, Severus and his immediate successors were likewise busy with the restoration of existing monuments; their inscriptions record their care for the Pantheon of Hadrian (p. 90) and for the portico of Octavia—the old *porticus Metelli* which had been restored under Augustus (Fig. 479).



FIG. 480.—CARACALLA AS A PHARAOH.  
(Alexandria.)

Religion and the service of the gods were now moving factors in the erection of new buildings. But the gods were no longer those of the Roman Pantheon, but divinities imported from the East. The temple of Sarapis, of whose architectural decoration splendid fragments exist in the Garden of the Colonna Palace, belongs presumably to the period of Caracalla who is known to have had a special devotion to this divinity, and who himself was represented in Egypt as Pharaoh (Fig. 480). The piece of cornice is said to be the largest architectural fragment in Rome; the wall to which it belonged still stood in the late Renaissance, and was frequently drawn. The cella, which was lined with marble, was divided into niches. The approach was by a lofty monumental stairway, almost as broad as the temple



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itself, supported on substructures still to be made out. It is to the time of Elagabalus—the Syrian boy who took his name from the stone of which he was the priest—and to his Temple of the Sun, that we should, it is thought, attribute the remains of a large temple precinct constructed on the grandiose plan characteristic of the period on the north-east side of the Palatine. This is possibly itself the Temple of the Sun erected to house the black stone of Emesa which Elagabalus transferred from Syria to Rome in 219. To one of the columns of its precinct belonged, we may conjecture, the capital—now in the Forum—which shows the stone guarded by the Capitoline Juno and Minerva (*Sc. R.* 188, 189). The temple seems to have been rededicated by Severus Alexander—the successor of Elagabalus—to the Roman Jupiter Ultor, who had a cult near by, but the whole question is involved in great obscurity. The ground-plan, once again, shows the temple against the back wall of the precinct, an arrangement which leads in time to the Christian basilica, with its forecourt.

Under Alexander Severus (222–235), again, a number of buildings begun by his predecessors were completed—others were restored; among these were the Baths of Nero, known afterwards as the *Thermæ Severianæ*, and supplied by means of a new aqueduct known as the *Aqua Alexandrina*. The beautiful fountain attributed to Alexander on the Esquiline is now known only from coins (p. 140). As the Mausoleum of Hadrian afforded no room for further burials, Alexander had a new Imperial tomb built, the exact site of which is now unknown. Otherwise his Principate has left little mark upon art and architecture.

§ 5. *From death of Alexander Severus to Claudius Gothicus.*—Time has dealt grudgingly with the vast building projects of the third Gordian (A.D. 238–244), who was evidently no mean town-planner. His historian tells us that he laid out a fine park extending from the foot of the Pincian Hill to some point in the Campus Martius, where the beauty of the architectural features was rivalled by that of the trees and the flowers: two immense colonnades distant from one another some 500 feet enclosed a space filled with beds of laurel, myrtle and box, and in the midst of these again was a large paved area a thousand feet in length, rimmed with little columns and statuettes. At one end of this paved court rose a “basilica.” We must suppose with Cultrera that the park, which would have constituted one of the most notable pieces of Roman town-planning, can never have been completely carried out, as it could hardly have disappeared without leaving the slightest trace. Some considerable part of the site, however, must have been laid out, since the ancient



## DYNASTY OF SEVERI TO CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS

historian remarks that in his time it had all been covered by private houses and gardens. On the left of the Via Prænestina is a fine group of ruins of monuments, of various dates, generally accepted as belonging to a Villa of the Gordians. If so, it was an ancestral property, for some of the monuments are earlier than their period and some are later. The only remaining chamber actually thought Gordianic is octagonal with alternate round and rectangular niches, imitated as it were from the Pantheon or the Domitianic chambers on the Palatine. It has a dome into which concentric rows of amphoras have been inserted to lighten the weight of the structure, a device that becomes common, and appears in the mausoleum of Helena. The famous round chamber (Fig. 481), generally known as the Tomb of the Gordians, is from the brick-stamps now thought to date from the time of Diocletian, when the Villa possibly still belonged to the family of the Gordians. The round openings in the high attic for the admission of light and air are a novel feature. The interesting crypt is built round a central pillar which serves as support for the whole structure. The stucco decoration of both chambers is still partially extant, and good stuccoed ornaments may also be seen under an apse with semi-dome, belonging to a building of the same group, but apparently erected something like 100 years earlier. The arch into the Castra Prætoria, once attributed to Gordian III, is questioned by recent authorities, and the Victory that was said to belong to it seems earlier in date (Fig. 482). In 248 Philip (244-249) celebrated with extraordinary splendour the thousandth



FIG. 481.—SO-CALLED TOMB OF THE GORDIANS.

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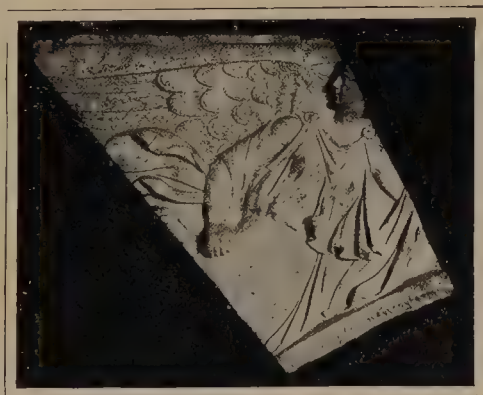


FIG. 482.—VICTORY ATTRIBUTED TO AN ARCH OF GORDIAN III.  
(Copenhagen.)

to belong to it seems earlier in date (Fig. 482). In 248 Philip (244-249) celebrated with extraordinary splendour the thousandth

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anniversary of the city's foundation, but only a few fine coins (Cohen, V) remain as visible record of the event. The Thermæ of



FIG. 483.—ARCH OF GALLIENUS.

Decius built in 252 on the Aventine are discussed in the next chapter.

From the period of Gallienus (253–268), eldest son of Valerian, dates the arch of travertine which is still partially visible near the church of San Vito. It was set up in honour of Gallienus and his consort Salonina in 262, by the City Prefect Aurelius Victor (C.I.L. 1106). Of its three gateways only the central one is left, with a few traces of that on the east (Fig. 483). We hardly know whether to credit the story of the chariot group with a statue of Gallienus himself as Sol, designed, it is said, to dominate the city from the

highest point of the Esquiline, but left unfinished (Script. XXIII. 18). A large circular mausoleum at the ninth milestone of the

Via Appia has usually been identified as that of Gallienus; it is built of the thin red bricks which came in with the period of Septimius Severus, so that there can be no question as to its date. Otherwise little has survived in Rome from the Principate of this Emperor.

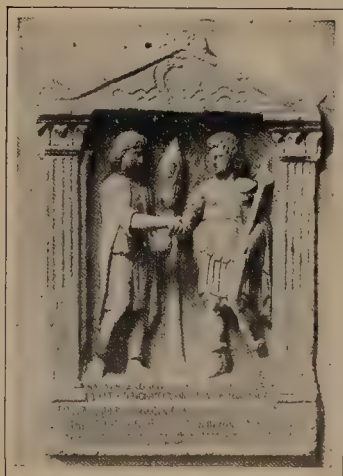


FIG. 484.—ÆDICULA.  
(Capitol.)

§ 6. *Sculpture in the Third Century*—*Influence of the East—Reliefs and Altars—The Tensa Capitolina.*—The whole of third-century art from the Severi onwards was dominated by the spirit of the Oriental religions, which were growing more powerful every day; we have already noted their influence upon architecture; and art likewise was called upon to embody these Oriental divinities in forms

borrowed from the gods of Greece and Rome. Thus the *ædicula* in the Capitoline Museum with images of the sun and moon

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gods, Aglibolos and Malachbelos, translates into Western language an Eastern conception (Fig. 484). This little monument was dedicated in 235, under Maximinus the Thracian. It shows Malachbelos (*Sol Sanctissimus*) as an Oriental, while his companion Aglibolos (the moon) is shown as a Roman soldier, with only the crescent above his shoulders to mark his divinity. Between the two gods is the familiar cypress of Oriental cults, sacred to the Syrian goddess. It is to approximately the same period that we may refer a relief from Homs (Emesa) at Brussels, dedicated to four Palmyrene deities—one of whom is, again, Aglibolos—who stand side by side in stiff frontal poses, each wearing a large aureole (Fig. 485). Another relief (Fig. 486) in the Capitoline Museum shows a *gallus* or devotee of Cybele clad in full ritual vestments: the delicate emaciated face of the visionary ascetic shines forth amid his Oriental ornaments, among which we note the heavy wreath decorated with three medallions, the necklace with two serpent-heads for clasp, the earrings and long woollen fillets, the scapular in the form of a tiny shrine worn on the breast, and containing a miniature image of Attis. The right hand holds the fruit and branches of the pomegranate, symbol of life and resurrection; the left a dish full of fruit, among which the pine-cone of fertility and resurrection is conspicuous. On the ground of the relief are carved the mystic sistrum, the drum, the flutes, the cymbals and the flagellum or whip. The relief vividly recalls those Palmyrene portraits laden with jewellery, many of which are datable to the period of the Severi.



FIG. 485.—RELIEF FROM HOMS.  
(Brussels.)



FIG. 486.—STELE OF AN ARCHIGALLUS(?).  
(Capitol.)



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An altar in the same Museum, dedicated, according to the inscription, by one Scipio Orfitus to *Juppiter Sol Serapis*, seems from the



FIG. 487.—THE TENSA CAPITOLINA. (Detail.)  
(Conservatori.)

style of its reliefs to belong at latest to the period of Caracalla, himself a devotee of Sarapis. On the chief face an Emperor (Caracalla?) rides the sacred bull over the reclining figure of Terra Mater; while in the background we see a *hortus inclusus*, above whose crenellated walls appear the tops of the sacred cypresses gently swaying in the wind (*Sc. R. 1, Pl. LXIV, Figs. 192, 193*).

The trees, leaves and wreath have a true decorative quality which is in sharp contrast to the naturalism of Augustan wreaths and garlands. To the third century also belongs a famous piece of ritual furniture—the *tensa Capitolina*, a carrying chair in which images or symbols of the gods went in procession. The wooden frame was reveted with thin bronze plaques disposed in friezes divided into panels with scenes from the legend of Achilles and from the Trojan cycle (Fig. 487). The style of the reliefs closely resembles that of sarcophagi of the period where the myth of Achilles, symbolic of the Stoic faith in a life of labour as a prelude to a happy immortality, is often represented. The sarcophagi continued of great splendour; from the period of Severus may be cited the fine fragment in the Terme showing a group of women with a little image of Priapus on a base in the midst of them. The figures on the left—the little girl who presses close to her mother as though she were frightened—are admirably effective (Fig. 488).



FIG. 488.—FRAGMENT OF RELIEF.  
(Terme.)

The niche and column sarcophagi continue in vogue during the whole of the third century; magnificent examples of the so-called Asiatic type are in Constantinople from Sidamara, and in the Cook collection at Richmond (*Sc. R., Fig. 195*). Imposing examples



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from the second half of the century may be seen in the Colonna gardens and in the Terme, whither the famous sarcophagus with figures of Muses and poets has recently been transferred from the Villa Mattei. Interesting variants are the sarcophagi with the door of Hades (or else of the tomb) as central motive, and on either side figures of the seasons (B.S.R. II, Trionfi, 4), or else shallow niches within which are placed one or more figures (the deceased and his family). Of the latter there are conspicuous examples in the Vatican Belvedere (H.A. 146, 150). These sarcophagi exhibit striking colouristic effects obtained by deeply cutting away the ground round the figures, and so grooving the folds that, as one writer observes, they actually seem to cut into the flesh. The method grows in intensity, as may be seen by comparing earlier with later examples.

It is to this same period, perhaps, that we should attribute certain ornate capitals in the Conservatori showing, like those of the central hall of the Terme of Caracalla, figures among the foliage. On the one acanthus leaves bend over to form a pedestal for a figure of Zeus (B.S.R. II, Gall. 54 *a*); on the other, from a column adorned with a spiral band carved with pastoral

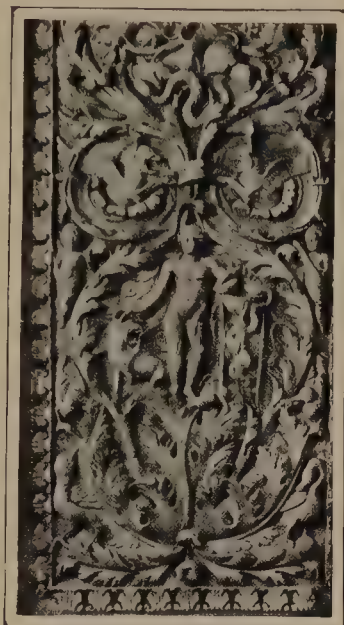


FIG. 489.—DECORATED PILASTER.  
(Museo Petriano.)



FIG. 490.—PREPARATIONS FOR RITUAL BANQUET. WALL-PAINTING IN HOUSE OF  
VIA DEI CERCHI.

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and vintage scenes, the familiar group of Dionysus leaning on a Satyr is supported in the same way; while lyre-playing figures adorn the angles (B.S.R. II, Gall. 70). Finally, we should



FIG. 491.—OTACILIA ENTERS PARADISE. TOMB NEAR MONTE MARIO.

probably date within the same group the richly-decorated pilasters in the Museo Petriano, once erroneously attributed to the Flavian period (Fig. 489), but the ornate foliage and accessories and the harsh outlines have nothing of the suave Flavian manner.

### § 7. *Painting of the Period.*—Painting flour-

ished under the Severi. We may note, as belonging in all probability to this period, the remarkable wall paintings of a house in the modern Via dei Cerchi beneath the S.W. slope of the Palatine (Fig. 490). The walls of two of the rooms were decorated with figures, almost life size. They are disposed above a high dado which supports columns—a decoration clearly derived from the second or architectural style (p. 2). Many of these figures carry platters and napkins, while boxes containing various utensils are strewn here and there on the ground. To the older interpretation of these figures as servants waiting at table, it seems better to substitute that of temple attendants holding utensils of cultus: the analogy is to those later figures found on the site of the Lateran now in Naples, who from the ritual character of their garments are doubtless carrying viands for a sacred banquet



FIG. 492.—THE "GOOD SHEPHERD." HYPOGEUM OF VIALE MANZONI.

(below, Fig. 582). Painting, like sculpture, continues to be en-tinctured with religion. Among paintings clearly connected with

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festivals and with ideas of resurrection is one recently discovered on the Monte Mario, representing a children's Paradise (Fig. 491). To the left an Eros bears off a little girl (Otacilia) in a car drawn by two doves and preceded by Hermes who leads the way to a garden where stands a column with a hecateion, around which children are gathering flowers.

Owing to their beauty and their strictly Roman character, it is impossible entirely to overlook here the paintings of the Hypogeum of the Aurelii, recently discovered on the modern Viale Manzoni, but the subjects being Christian, any detailed discussion is beyond our scope. The many landscapes and representations of cities are



FIG 493.—PASTORAL SCENE. HYPOGEUM OF VIALE MANZONI.

treated in a manner that has developed out of Augustan and Pompeian painting. The picture of the Good Shepherd, in illustration of S. John x. 11, seated on a flowery hill amongst his flocks, retains a Virgilian tenderness and grace, and surpasses in depth of feeling the pagan Orpheus or the Shepherd of the Catacombs (Fig. 492). The portraits of the twelve apostles, especially the bearded heads, are fine and characteristic counterparts in painting of the sculptured portraiture of the period. The astonishing landscapes and architectural pieces, the palaces piled up as in certain Renaissance backgrounds, the farm-house and yard, crowded with cattle, of the "Ulysses and Penelope" picture, are in a new romantic mood that accepts the old themes while working up and transforming them (Fig. 493).

Leaving Italy and turning eastward, we note among the important wall-paintings of the temple of the Palmyrene gods recently discovered at Doura (modern Salayiah) in Syria, one representing the "Sacrifice of the Tribune Terentius" (Fig. 494), who is shown at the head



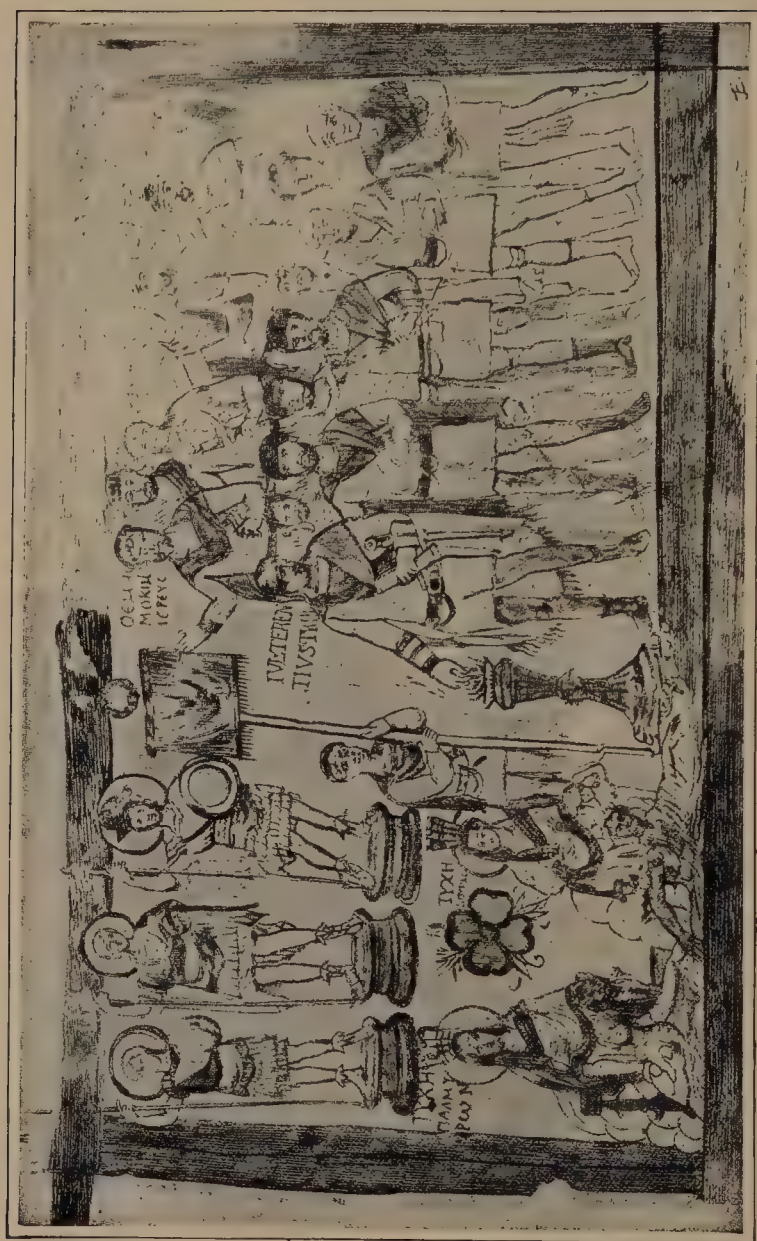


FIG. 494.—ROMAN TRIUNE SACRIFICING. WALL-PAINTING AT DOURA, SYRIA.



## DYNASTY OF SEVERI TO CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS

of his Palmyrene cohort, standing by a flaming altar, while a young soldier on his right guards the Roman vexillum. On the left, but imagined as behind the altar, are images of the three Palmyrene deities, each on its own pedestal: Balsamin, the great sky god, in the centre, flanked by the same solar and lunar divinities noted in the Conservatori ædícula. All three gods are in Roman military costume and wear large circular aureoles. Below are the turret-crowned *Tychæ* (Fortunes) of the cities of Palmyra and of Doura. The mood, the rendering, the conception are all Roman; how deeply Oriental subjects might be permeated and transformed by the Roman spirit becomes clear if we compare these pictures of the Severan period, in the temple, to the pictures older by a century in the temple itself,

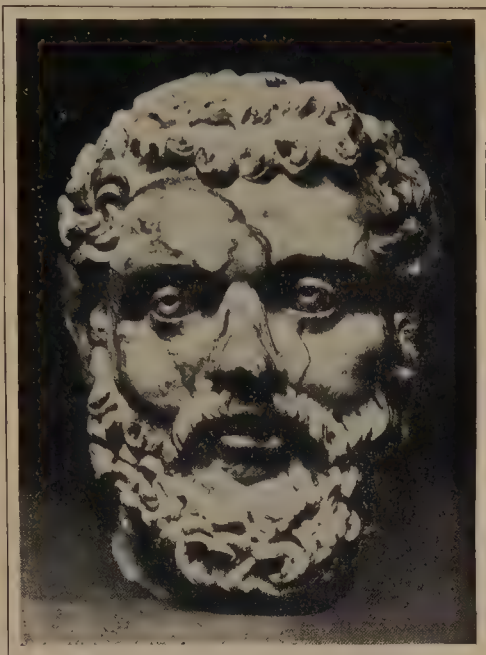


FIG. 495.—HEAD OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.  
(Coll. Stettiner, Rome.)

which are in pure Syrio-Hellenistic style. The composition of the "Tribune's Sacrifice" recalls in many particulars that of the reliefs of the Arch of Septimius Severus; figure and gestures have considerable beauty.

§ 8. *Portraiture.*—Portraiture kept at a high level, though the portraits of Septimius Severus, the first of the foreign Emperors, are



FIG. 496.—HEAD OF JULIA DOMNA.  
(Munich.)

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very unequal in merit. At times they lack character, owing to an obvious attempt to assimilate the Princesps, who was an African, to



FIG. 497.—CARACALLA.  
(Naples.)

the type of the Italian Antonines. The grand and fiery Severus of the coins, on the other hand, and the magnificent head of the Stettiner collection in Rome (Fig. 495) recently published by von Kaschnitz, are of the first order. The consort of Septimius, Julia Domna, was represented in her Eastern beauty with no attempt at making a Roman of her, and her portraits accordingly bring a new note into art, though the formula remains strictly Roman (Fig. 496). Her son Caracalla, who carried his head, it was said, in imitation of Alexander, proved an unrivalled subject for portraiture, and found a Michelangelesque sculptor who carved him in massive fashion as a frowning tyrant (Fig. 497). Yet even the busts at Naples and Berlin pale before the gold medallion of Aboukir, one of those distributed as medals at the Olympian games, and a notable com-

panion to the Alexander of whom Caracalla was for ever thinking (Fig. 498). Equally original though less dazzling in their presentment are the portraits of Elagabalus (Fig. 499), which confirm the tradition that Caracalla was his father. Of the unfortunate Geta, the murdered brother of Caracalla, there seems to be a good portrait in the



FIG. 498.—MEDALLION OF ABOUKIR.  
(Berlin.)



FIG. 499.—ELAGABALUS.  
(Capitol.)

panion to the Alexander of whom Caracalla was for ever thinking (Fig. 498). Equally original though less dazzling in their presentment are the portraits of Elagabalus (Fig. 499), which confirm the tradition that Caracalla was his father. Of the unfortunate Geta, the murdered brother of Caracalla, there seems to be a good portrait in the

## DYNASTY OF SEVERI TO CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS

Hermitage. The colossal portrait in Naples, held by some to represent the young Alexander Severus, is, on the analogy of the coins, more probably a generalized portrait of Elagabalus (Fig. 500). The treatment of moustache and hair, the shape of the head, the use of the diadem (first introduced, it is said, by this Emperor), the heavy facial forms, show at any rate that it is a prince of the Emesene house. More realistic are the heads of Maximinus the Thracian, in Berlin, a penetrating study of one of those barbarian Emperors in whom vitality was the moving force, and of Gordian III in the Terme (Fig. 501). A strong psychological sense pervades the portraiture of Pupienus (*Sc. R.*, Fig. 242), of Balbinus and of Philip the Arab (*Sc. R.*, Fig. 243). Two interesting porphyry busts supported on globes, of Philip the Arab and his son Philip (?), in the Louvre, deserve to be rescued from oblivion. Another remarkable group is formed by the portraits of Trajanus Decius in the Capitol (Delbrueck, II. xxxii), of his wife



FIG. 500.—ALEXANDER SEVERUS OR ELAGABALUS. (Naples.)

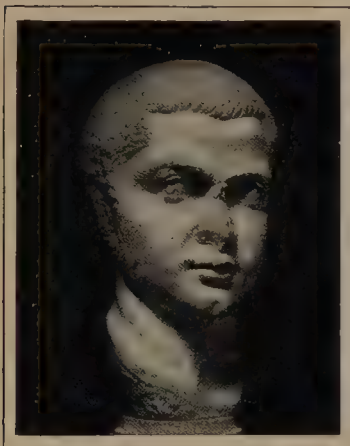


FIG. 501.—GORDIAN III. (Terme.)

Herennia Etruscilla in the British Museum (No. 1924, attribution not entirely certain), and of their son Herennius Etruscus in the Terme (Delbrueck II. xxxiii). Of Trebonianus Gallus there is an imposing nude bronze statue in New York, of which, as often in Roman art, the head is the more interesting part. The heads of Gallienus are among the brilliant feats of ancient art (Fig. 502). The striking portrait in the Terme shows the tawny hair and flashing eyes, the proud and mobile lips of the man, who though represented as a would-be conqueror, a

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tyrant ruled by any whim or favourite, yet contrived for fifteen years to keep in check the enemies of the State and the pretenders to the purple. He was intellectually gifted and deeply religious, and together with his wife, Salonina, was a friend and patron of Plotinus.

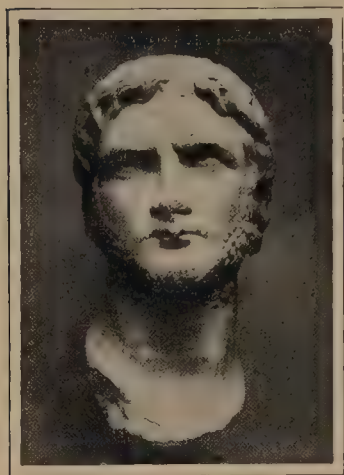


FIG. 502.—GALLIENUS.  
(Terme.)



FIG. 503.—JULIA MAMMÆA  
(Capitol.)

This portraiture, up to Diocletian, has been eloquently characterized by Albizzati:

“In the dolorous reality of this period, which saw the crisis of the ancient civilization and of its conscience, art, which has now travelled far from the æsthetic ideals of the Greeks, took upon itself a more intimate social function and turned to portraiture almost as to its only theme. The individual characters shaped by that terrible century afforded the highest inspiration; the proud dignity of senators like Pupienus, who with the purple assumed the blood-red aureole of sacrifice; the abnegation and austere virtue of great soldiers like Claudius Gothicus and Probus; the spiritual light that must have irradiated the countenance of Plotinus; the indomitable energy of Diocletian, were more inspiring models than the *exemplaria Græca*.”

But already at this time a new tendency makes itself felt in the severely idealized head of an Emperor from Ostia, in the Terme, which anticipates in its remote and passionless character the portraiture of Constantine (Kaschnitz, Fig. 4).

It is an age keenly interested in the psychology of women, and there is scarcely a collection in Europe without some eloquent effigy of a Roman lady of the third century A.D. Something has



already been said of Julia Domna (Fig. 496), the wife of Septimius Severus, the first of those Syrian ladies from Emesa who played so

brilliant a rôle in the Roman world of the third century and infused new life into its politics, literature and religion. The desire to do justice to their intellectual qualities seems to have acted as a spur to portraiture. The features of Julia Mammæa (Fig. 503), mother of Severus Alexander, are severer but no less distinguished than those of her aunt,



FIG. 504.—JULIA SOÆMIAS.  
(Vatican.)

Julia Domna. The portraits of Julia Soæmias, mother of Elagabalus, show the family type; she was portrayed also as Venus in one of those pathetic official statues of empresses, deified but not idealized, which make the modern reader rebel against the custom of apotheosis which could tolerate a realistic portrait head on the body of a Venus of the fourth century B.C. (Fig. 504).

Most of the portraits of Vestals that have come down to us belong to the age of the Severi, and in more than a few may be noticed a studied likeness to their patroness, Julia Domna (Figs. 505, 506), whose portraits are not nobler examples of the art than the stately nun-like statues of the priestesses whom she protected. A charming bust portrait in the British Museum, thought to represent Julia Paulla, wife of Elagabalus (Fig. 507), includes the hands and shows how by this time the bust was tending to



FIG. 505.—VESTAL VIRGIN.  
(Terme.)



FIG. 506.—VESTAL VIRGIN.  
(Terme.)

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resemble the fragment of a statue. A curiously arresting head in the Capitol (Fig. 508) long passed, but without reason, for a por-



FIG. 507.—JULIA PAULLA.  
(British Museum.)



FIG. 508.—ROMAN LADY.  
(Capitol.)

trait of Annia Faustina, third wife of Elagabalus. It is probably a private portrait of the date, but is interesting for the treatment



FIG. 509.—CAMEO OF JULIA DOMNA.



FIG. 510.—CAMEO OF SALONINA.

of the eyebrows, of the large eyes with the incised iris and pupil, and] for the bunches of curls below the ears. Gems afford fine

## DYNASTY OF SEVERI TO CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS

examples of the portraiture of the time: the cameo of Julia Domna (Fig. 509) shows her in all the brilliancy of her prime; in another cameo the dainty well-cut features of Salonina (Fig. 510), the wife of Gallienus, have found in the gem-cutter's art the precise medium of expression, without losing their individuality. To the period of the Severi also belong a large proportion of the celebrated Fayoum portraits, of which two examples are reproduced here (Figs. 511, 512); the charming head of the National Gallery shows



FIG. 511.—PORTRAIT FROM THE  
FAYOUM.



FIG. 512.—PORTRAIT FROM THE FAYOUM.  
(National Gallery.)

a more naturalistic conception of the human face that recalls Pompeii. Of greater importance for the beauty of its art is the portrait group of a lady and her two children on a glass medallion now enclosed in the jewelled cross of Brescia (Fig. 513). It used to be dated in the fifth century and the portraits interpreted as those of Galla Placidia and of her two children, Valentinian and Honoria. From the style in which the ladies' hair is dressed (cf. Julia Domna, Julia Mammæa) and from the character of the boy's head (cf. the younger Philip on the coins, or Gordian III) it should be attributed to the second quarter or middle of the third century, and recently it has been brought into connection with Julia Maesa. These portraits on glass come into fashion at this period, and

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doubtless afford a good notion of the contemporary portrait painting. At Arezzo there is a gold glass portrait of a man, apparently of the period of Philip the Arabian, which is a masterpiece. That portrait painting was at the same high level as the sculpture seems attested by the story which Porphyry tells in his life of Plotinus, of Carterius, "best of the painters of the time," who was able to make a "memory" likeness of Plotinus, of whose features—although he could never be induced to sit to anyone—the artist made an accurate study while attending the philosopher's lectures.



FIG. 513.—PORTRAIT-GROUP ON GLASS.  
(Brescia.)

we survey the art and the architecture of the third century we are more conscious of the strength of the canons of Western tradition than of the intrusion of foreign ideas. Elagabalus might bring with him his holy stone symbolic of new monotheistic beliefs, and the

Strong arguments have been put up in favour of Eastern influence at this period, yet as

ladies of his family might introduce into religion that mystic element which is inseparable from Oriental religious thought, but the portraits, the gods, and the religious beliefs are still clothed in the forms of Western art. Even the cameo (Fig. 514) that commemorated for some Eastern potentate the tragic defeat of Valerianus by Shapur II in 260, remains, as Furtwängler perceived (*Gemmen, Geschichte*, p. 371), faithful



FIG. 514.—VALERIANUS AND SHAPUR.  
(Cameo.)

to the canons of the later Roman art of the West in spite of a new stiffness. The fight of Orient and Occident, symbolized in



the persons of their rulers, has begun, but the West holds its own.

§ 9. *The Provinces.*—To do justice to the Roman art of the third century, and more especially to its architecture, we should have to study the magnificent output in the provinces. Septimius Severus outdid his predecessors by the splendour of his buildings in his native Africa, as recent excavations abundantly prove. Nothing can exceed the magnificence of the Roman city with its Temple in honour of Severus, recently laid bare by French archæologists at Jemila, the ancient Cuicul, in Algeria, or that of Leptis Magna, the Emperor's birthplace, where the Italian excavations have disclosed numerous monuments and sculptures, among them the arch adorned with reliefs in which the Imperial chariot of Septimius Severus and his consort is conspicuous.

It is, moreover, important for the history of art to remember that the rise of Byzantium as an Imperial centre is due, in the first instance, to Septimius Severus, who destroyed the old Greek city in the war against Pescennius Niger and then began its grandiose reconstruction on a Roman model, afterwards enlarged by Constantine, who raised Byzantium to the dignity of capital.

The successors of the Severi continued to show interest in the Provinces. A palace with Thermæ of the period of Gordian III has been uncovered at Volubilis in the west of ancient Mauretania, and the same Emperor had a number of statues made for the adornment of a great nymphæum façade at Miletus. These statues are among the few sculptures in the round of the period, and though mostly copied from classical works, reach a good technical average.

Throughout the century the architecture and reliefs of tombs in the Provinces show persistent vitality. The monument of the Secundinii, for instance, at Igel in the Mosel country, is one of the most beautiful pieces of sepulchral architecture of any time. It is covered with reliefs of scenes from daily life, or of allegories of the Soul's adventure and apotheosis, the whole being crowned by the familiar Orphic group of Ganymede and the eagle, symbol of the liberated Soul. Religious cults, popular among the soldiery, such as that of Jupiter Dolichenus, are illustrated here by two statuettes from Carnuntum (Figs. 515 and 516). Of the many ornate metal objects found in the Provinces, we may note the ritual patera of Rennes, now in Paris (R.R., ii. 233), with the triumph of Dionysus in the centre, and round the rim sixteen Imperial medals from Hadrian to Septimius Severus and Julia Domna. The style of the Dionysiac procession recalls the reliefs of the Tensa Capitolina.

The influence of the many religious currents of the time was

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manifest in art. We have referred to the Oriental religions, but other factors were at work. The Christians were now a real power. Tertullian had been at the height of his activity under Septimius Severus and Caracalla; St. Hippolytus, whose statue in the classic garb of a philosopher we may still admire at the Lateran, and Origen were somewhat younger contemporaries. It was also the age of Philostratus, the star of Julia Domna's philosophic court, and of the Neo-Platonists; of Plotinus, who counted Gallienus and



FIG. 515.—JUPITER DOLICHENUS FROM CARNUNTUM.

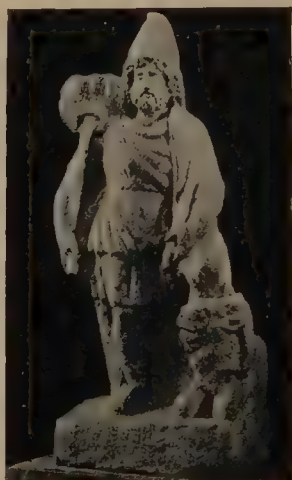


FIG. 516.—JUPITER DOLICHENUS FROM CARNUNTUM.

Salonina among his disciples; of Porphyry, who strove, gallantly but in vain, to check the rise of Christianity by setting up over and against it a purer paganism. Rome was already being transformed into the "City of the Soul," and new creeds were at once modifying and enriching her repertory of art forms.

The third century, from Septimius Severus onwards, is called one of "military anarchy," but to speak, as is too often done, of the cessation of monumental building in this century, of the utter debasement of its sculpture, of the discontinuance of inscription and memorial, of the Arch of Severus as clumsy and crude, is to overlook the testimony of the monuments themselves and to ignore the religious beliefs which they reflect.

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FIG. 517.—IMPERIAL LARGESSE. RELIEF FROM ARCH OF CONSTANTINE.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### AURELIAN TO HONORIUS (270–404): CULTS OF THE SUN: ARCHITECTURE AND IMPERIALISM

§ 1. *Aurelian—The Triumph of 275—Temple of Sol.*—The victories of Aurelian (270–275) in Palestine and Syria gave a fresh impetus to building activity in Rome and the provinces. Few monuments, however, remain to bear witness to the glories of a remarkable Principate. So far no reliefs have been identified as referring to the triumph of 275, the most gorgeous, it is said, that Rome had ever seen, in which the Emperor rode in a chariot drawn by stags, while Zenobia and Tetricus followed in chains. Of the Temple of the Sun (*Templum Solis Aureliani*) erected after A.D. 270 on the Campus Martius, even the site is uncertain, though the slender evidence is all in favour of following Palladio and the older archæologists, who locate it where now stand the church of San Silvestro in Capite and its adjacent monastery (modern Post Office). Palladio's drawing in the Burlington-Devonshire collection shows a forecourt leading through an intermediate smaller court into the huge rectangular enclosure, with niches (Cultrera, Fig. 49). In the centre rose the actual shrine—circular, as befitted the Sun. The arrangement bore, it is often asserted, an undeniable resemblance to the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus at Baalbek, but Baalbek, as we have seen, was itself the normal development of the Roman temple-precinct scheme. In his official introduction of the cult of Sol, Aurelian was retracing, as it were, the footsteps of Augustus and revivifying a cult intimately connected with the very life of the Empire. Just as Augustus had brought Apollo to Rome and installed him as patron of a new cult, so now Aurelian brings Apollo in the splendid form of Sol and establishes his cult as that of the State, appointing *Sol invictus* to be ruler of the spiritual world with



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the Emperor as his vicar on earth, the Sun appearing as *dominus imperi Romani* on bronze coins which show on the reverse Aurelian sacrificing to him. The day of the temple's dedication (December 25, 274) was known as the *natalis invicti* (likewise kept as birthday of the sun-god Mithras), and the first day of the week was called in Sol's honour Sun-day or the *dies Solis*. The effigy of the new divinity is well known from the coins, where he is represented young, wearing a crown of rays, with floating mantle, whip in one hand and the orb in the other. By giving him this Western form borrowed from that of the Greek Apollo-Helios, and by recalling the connection with Apollo by means of coins inscribed *Apollo conservator Augusti*, Aurelian avoided the error of Elagabalus, who had tried to foist upon the Romans an Oriental idol. while he ministered at the same time to the religious demand of the age for one supreme god in the place of many (Fig. 518). "It was a definite effort," says Groag, "to



FIG. 518.—COIN OF AURELIAN AND APOLLO.  
(British Museum.)

vivify and concentrate paganism; it at once lent a fundamental support to Imperial absolutism, and was perhaps erected in conscious opposition to the already firmly established power of Christianity." By the special protection of Sol, Aurelian constituted himself absolute ruler and wore as insignia the gold and gem-embroidered garment and the jewelled diadem. But (like Augustus) he was careful not to appear to neglect the older cults, and in order to avoid shocking the old-fashioned and the conservative by a doctrine based on religious monotheism, he had himself associated with the cult of Hercules, so popular under the Antonines, and with that of Mercury, which had continued popular since the days of Augustus.

§ 2. *The Aurelian Walls—The Immediate Successors of Aurelian, and their Buildings.*—The fame of Aurelian as a builder rests mainly now on the splendid walls with which he encircled Rome (Fig. 519). We are apt to look upon them as relics of her ancient power, though in reality they were the first clear acknowledgment of a growing weakness, the first admission of Rome's inability to feel secure any longer in her own might without the help of fortifications. The

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work seems to foreshadow the possibility, undreamt of by elder generations, that even the *Urbs* might be attacked by the barbarian. The walls, strengthened at intervals by rectangular towers, have been claimed—but on insufficient evidence—as showing the influence of Eastern systems of fortification. Of their splendid gates, two, the *Porta Asinaria* near the modern Porta San Giovanni, and the *Porta*



FIG. 519.—AURELIAN WALL NEAR PORTA S. LORENZO.

*Ostiensis*, incorporated with the later Porta San Paolo, still remain practically intact, and give us an idea of their ancient strength and splendour, and also of the variety of their systems of construction. The walls, begun in 270, were repeatedly repaired, and much that we now see belongs to the completion under Probus in 280 and the restorations of Honorius (402-3).

A monument that owes more to Aurelian than is generally known, is the Hadrianic Temple of Venus and Rome, which according to Dr. Esther van Deman's research on the brick stamps was largely restored and even rebuilt by him, though he respected the original plan.

The Emperors who reigned in the nine years that separate Aurelian from Diocletian have left little mark on the architecture of the Empire if we except Probus, the great general of Aurelian, and his successor (276-282), who finished the walls of the *Urbs* and built between the foot of the Aventine and the Trasteverine shore of the river (near the modern Ospizio San Michele) a bridge called after him *Pons Probi*. It was of peperino, was cased in marble under Theodosius, after whom it was renamed *Pons marmoreus Theodosii*, and lasted right down to 1878, when it was finally destroyed.

A great fire under Carinus (283-284) once more afforded the opportunity for the rebuilding and embellishment of Rome. Fortunately Diocletian, who succeeded Carinus, was a man of genius who recognized the value of art as a national asset, and set about restoring what had been destroyed and making more effective the town-planning schemes of his predecessors. Considering that Diocletian never visited Rome till the twentieth year of his Principate, what he accomplished is amazing. He was, moreover, ably seconded by

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his colleague, Maximian, and much of the finest architecture of the later Empire belongs to their joint Principate. Of the buildings which were restored under Diocletian in the Forum, the Curia or Senate-house still stands much as he left it, though transformed into the church of Sant' Adriano. The beautiful Diocletianic brickwork may be seen still practically intact; the lower part was faced with a dado of high marble panels, and the upper was stuccoed in imitation of marble.

§ 3. *The Thermæ of Diocletian.*—In Rome the greatest achievement of the Principate was the erection, in the incredibly short space of two years, of the Thermæ which were built by Maximian, and called by him after his colleague Diocletian in gratitude for his association in the Empire (Fig. 520). They are situated on the S.E. spur of the Quirinal hill, at its junction with the Viminal, where, as Cultrera points out, the usual systematization and levelling of the ground took place, besides the necessary expropriation of the old houses that had occupied the site.

Since the days of Septimius Severus and the "Baths of Caracalla," the tendency had been to erect these huge buildings on the periphery of the city. The baths in the centre of Rome had been repeatedly restored, and from their convenient position remained the more fashionable. The baths built from the epoch of the Severi onwards, on the other hand, were to a great extent intended for the poorer classes of the population, who then as now lived in the suburbs. Under the Emperor Trajanus Decius (249-251) large Thermæ, reckoned among the most magnificent of the Urbs, had been built on the Aventine. They occupied a vast space between the churches of Santa Prisca and Sant' Alessio, which must have needed much planning and levelling. Besides a few paintings still visible under a gardener's house in the neighbourhood of Santa Prisca, a number of bases, statues, precious marbles, stuccoes, paintings and mosaics belonging to these baths were excavated from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century in the vigna of the Jesuits (now Torlonia).

The Baths of Diocletian resemble in plan those of Caracalla, but exceed them in size. Their central hall, the so-called *tepidarium*, is



FIG. 520.—BATHS OF DIOCLETIAN.



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still completely preserved, transformed, under the direction of Michelangelo, into the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli. Its plan is practically identical with that of the corresponding hall in the Baths of Caracalla, and we shall find the same plan adopted for the Basilica of Maxentius, which in fact almost exactly follows it. Nothing can exceed the strength and harmonious beauty of the construction; the lofty nave of the *tepidarium*, the walls of the

great *frigidarium*, with its vast *piscina*, the beautiful detail of its marble facings, proved an inspiration to all subsequent architects, and certain of their features were borrowed—so it is said—by the builders of Santa Sophia.

§ 4. *The Basilica of Maxentius.*—In Rome the Basilica at the north-east end of the Forum, begun by Maxentius between 306 and

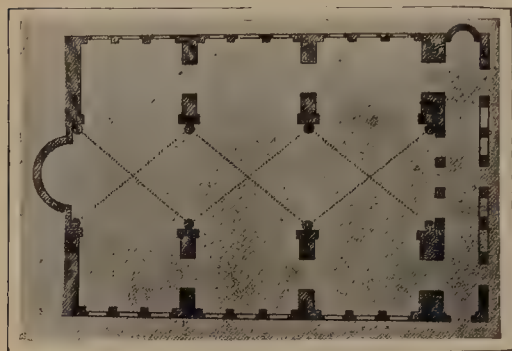


FIG. 521.—BASILICA OF MAXENTIUS, GROUND PLAN.

310, and afterwards finished by Constantine, who dedicated it in his own name, is among the great architectural efforts of the age. The plan surpasses that of previous Roman basilicas in completeness and in grandeur of conception. Strictly speaking, the Maxentian building is the structural counterpart of the central hall of the Imperial Thermæ. As originally planned it was entered from the south through a portico or atrium, the columns of which are still partly standing. The building covered an area of 6,500 square metres, and was divided into nave and aisles by four huge piers on each side, which upheld the central groined vault and the barrel-vaults of the side aisles; the plan resembles, therefore, that of the main hall of the baths (Figs. 521 and 522).

“The complete stability of the basilica of Maxentius is seen in its entirety in the churches of the Renaissance, especially in those erected during the great building period—the second half of the sixteenth century, after the Council of Trent. The church of the Gesù in Rome and all the innumerable other churches derived from it, which have side-chapels substituted for side-aisles facing on to a single central space, and have large external corbels as continuations of the transversal walls, are the direct descendants of the halls of Roman baths and of Roman civil basilicas, not only in their constructional and architectural scheme, but also, it may be, in their scheme of decoration.”—G. Giovannoni in *Legacy of Rome*, p. 454.



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Huge columns with rich capitals and entablature, without, however, any true architectural purpose, stood against the piers to mask them. The extraordinary lightness of the interior is due to two causes: every available wall-space is broken up into niches or windows; and the coffering of the ceiling is so designed as to resemble trellis-work open to the sky. The illusion is made the more complete by the

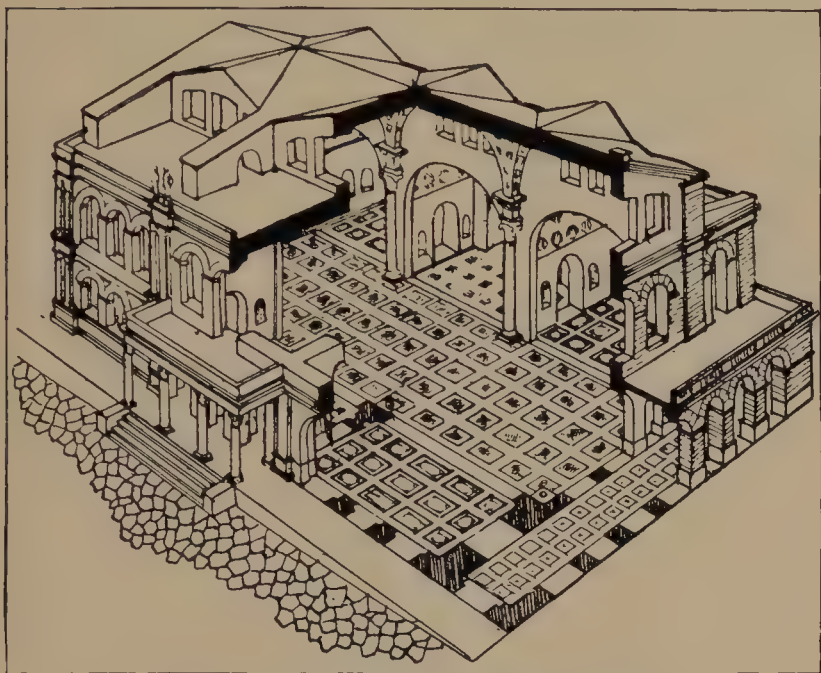


FIG. 522.—BASILICA OF MAXENTIUS, RESTORED SECTION.  
(Lugli.)

patterns of octagons and lozenges on the pavement, which seem like a reflection of the coffers. A similar device was adopted in the pavement of St. Peter's, where the pattern seems to repeat the design of the dome and vaulting. In the Basilica of Maxentius we also note a new tendency to simplicity, inasmuch as, with the one exception of the traditional line of architrave above the columns, all the decoration follows with the utmost fidelity the lines of the building, and the architect scorns to screen the walls, for instance, by a colonnade, as in earlier Græco-Roman construction. The ancient splendour of this edifice must have equalled in brilliancy, and perhaps surpassed in the greater concentration of its effect, the many-coloured halls of the

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Thermæ. No dull architectural reconstruction or measured drawing (and they are legion) can reproduce the glow and splendour so well as



FIG. 523.—"URBIS FANUM," BUILT BY MAXENTIUS.

the water-colour drawing of William Walcot. As in the Thermæ, all the decoration was concentrated in the interior; and here we have the definite break with the old classical tradition, which adorned the exterior of civic basilicas (the *Julia*, the *Æmilia*) much as if these were temples of the gods. It should be noted that the basilica had five doors, opening on to the atrium, like the

Christian basilica (cf. S. Peter's), and that it was only under Constantine that a new door with a porphyry portico was built on the western side to give access to the basilica from the Forum. The Basilica effected a satisfactory connection between the Forum of Peace and the Temple of Venus and Rome, and thus completed the Imperial town-planning scheme on this side of the Forum. With this group of buildings we may mention the circular structure in the Roman Forum now forming part of SS. Cosma e Damiano and hitherto generally called the Temple of Romulus. It is now identified as the *Urbis Fanum* begun by Maxentius, and dedicated by the Senate after his defeat at the Milvian Bridge to the "merits of the Flavii" (Aurelius Victor, XL. 26). It is a beautiful little shrine, with a semicircular vestibule, screen of columns and fine bronze door still *in situ* (Fig. 523).

One of the most significant buildings of the Maxentian period is the Imperial Villa with its adjacent Circus, and with the tomb or Heroon of Romulus, the nine-year-old son of Maxentius who died in 309; its site is between the Via Asinaria and the Via Appia. The



FIG. 524.—TOWER. CIRCUS OF MAXENTIUS.

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Circus (Fig. 524), which was dedicated in 311, is well preserved, so that we can make out the towers on each side of the *carceres*, the enclosing wall with its seats and the Imperial box, the *spina* and goal, and the entrance on the Via Asinaria. The flanking towers for the flute-players at the two ends of the terrace of seats still stand almost to their original height. On or near the site was found the fresco of Epona with her horses, mentioned below (Fig. 573). The plan of the neighbouring Heroon or tomb of the deified Romulus resembles the crypt of the tomb, itself of late third-century date, noted in the Villa of the Gordians (above, p. 149), inasmuch as it is built round a central pier, relieved in this instance by eight semicircular recesses that correspond to those in the outer wall.

A peculiar pathos attaches to this Circus and Heroon; for, as the tomb marks the resting-place of the last deified Roman prince, and the Circus is the record of the funeral games held in his honour, so the whole complex brings vividly before our minds the tragic fate of Maxentius, the last Emperor who attempted to make Rome assert herself as mistress of the world, and to restore her ancient supremacy. An inscription near the Forum records his effort: his monuments still bear witness to its partial success; but the death-knell of pagan Rome had sounded; and the conqueror and successor of Maxentius determined on the transference of this seat of Empire to the New Rome on the Bosphorus.

§ 5. *Buildings of the Diocletianic Period outside Rome—The Arch of Saloniki—Milan, Nicomedia, Salona and Spalato.*—Throughout the Empire grandiose monuments arose as records of what Diocletian and his colleagues accomplished for its strengthening and welfare. The Arch of Galerius at Saloniki commemorated the Persian victories and the defeat of Narses of the year 298 (Fig. 525). The style of the sculpture resembles that of the narrow friezes of the Arch of Constantine which are only a little later in date. The scene of the Emperor (Diocletian) sacrificing is

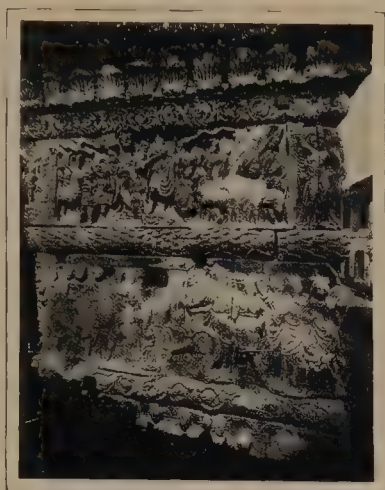


FIG. 525.—ARCH OF GALERIUS AT SALONIKI.  
(Detail.)



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of imposing beauty (R.R. I, 389, 1). Unfortunately nothing remains of the triumphal arch set up in Rome as record of the same victories.



FIG. 526.—PALACE OF MAXIMIAN?, MILAN.

of San Lorenzo. The heavy carving of the capitals is intended to be effective at a great height, where delicate detail is apt to be lost (Fig. 526). But it is near Salona, the ancient *Salonæ*, once capital of Dalmatia—a fortified Roman port with walls, amphitheatre, thermæ, and its sixteen sarcophagi still *in situ*, that we best apprehend what Roman art owes to Diocletian, for it was near Salona at Spalato that he built the palace which gives him a name among Roman master-builders.

The Palace of Spalato (ancient *Spalatum*), so called from the *Palatium* to which it owes its existence, has the interest, as rare in an ancient Roman monument as in a mediæval cathedral, of being the creation of one man.



FIG. 527.—MODEL OF PALACE OF SPALATO.

In it Oriental conceptions of the mystery and seclusion which should envelop the person of the ruler are expressed in terms of a Roman camp with its main streets intersecting at right angles. Along the sea-front, south of the *cardo*, corresponding to the *præ-*  
*torium* and headquarters of the camp, lay the Imperial residence with the principal buildings. North of this line were the various blocks of buildings for guards and service. The south front had

Building activity was naturally accelerated by the various divisions of the Empire, each with its own capital. A much-obliterated relief belonging to one of the gates is all that remains of Diocletian's own capital Nicomedia, while to the palace of his colleague Maximian at Milan (Mediolanum) belonged, it is thought, the sixteen splendid Corinthian columns, outside the church



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no gate, but the principal entrance on the north, the *Porta Aurea* with its arcaded upper storey and columns resting on consols, is one of the most beautiful things in all architecture. Scarcely inferior in design is the gate of the western wall. The eastern gate has disappeared. Spalato, as Swoboda remarks, affords an example of the combination of civil and military architecture—it is the porticus villa transformed into a fortified *castellum*.

The Imperial residence itself is wholly embedded into the modern houses that nestle within the ancient ruins. The façade on the sea had an extensive colonnade still traceable (Fig. 527); the actual residence was entered through a colonnaded court (now the Cathedral Square), while four columns of pink granite supported the architrave with arcuated pediment of the Palace vestibule. The Mausoleum built for himself by Diocletian, now the Cathedral, is a further development of the circular Roman mausolea. Here at Spalato the primitive round plan was adhered to, but cased, so to speak, in an octagonal sheath, and enriched by architectural details that show, it is said, Oriental influence. It was surrounded by a peristyle, also octagonal in plan, with arcuated pediment over the entrance (Fig. 528, after Niemann's model). In the interior eight columns of red granite with Corinthian capitals carry a rich architrave and a cornice; above these rises the drum, and above this again, eight smaller columns, four of black and four of red porphyry, which uphold the cupola. Along the top of the drum runs a delicate frieze with the familiar sepulchral *motif* of love-gods engaged in chariot racing or in chasing wild animals. At the central point of the frieze winged genii hold up a medallion portrait, apparently of Diocletian. The whole is emblematic of the powers of good hunting the powers of evil, and of the final triumph and apotheosis of the soul. Spalato is held by the Pan-Oriental School to belong wholly to the history of Oriental art, nor can certain Oriental features of the decoration be entirely denied. Yet as we wander among its picturesque ruins or study the reconstruction of



[Photo. 1st Arti Grafiche.]

FIG. 528.—MAUSOLEUM OF DIOCLETIAN AT SPALATO.  
(Restoration by Niemann.)

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its past grandeur in the pages and pictures of Adam, or in the modern plans of Niemann and of Hébrard, we seem to catch the very spirit of Rome, subduing once more to its usage the forms that came to it from alien lands, bringing these into the service of a main plan based upon that of the old Roman *castrum*, which had itself gradually developed from the Italic *terre mare*.

§ 6. *Diocletianic Sculpture*.—Little enough has survived in Rome. The attempt to attribute to this Principate the small friezes of the



FIG. 529.—DIOCLETIAN SACRIFICING. BASIS IN ROMAN FORUM.

Arch of Constantine cannot be considered conclusive, and nothing remains, as we have seen, of the sculptures of the arch erected on the Via Lata to celebrate the Persian victories of Galerius in 298, and of the magnificent triumph celebrated by Diocletian himself in 303. The defeat and capture of Valerianus by Shapur had deeply humiliated the Romans, and they showed them-

selves eager to honour the victorious Emperors who had effaced the blot from their escutcheon. It was as much an occasion for national rejoicing as the recovery of the Parthian standards under Augustus, or that of the eagles of Varus under Tiberius. The loss of all the commemorative sculpture is a grievous one. All the more precious, therefore, is the decorated base in the Forum (Fig. 529) set up in honour of the *Decennalia* of Diocletian and his colleagues (303–304 A.D.). On the front face Diocletian is shown sacrificing in the presence of Mars and of the goddess Roma, seen seated on the right, with a bust of Mithras Helios, the divinity whose cult Diocletian protected beyond all others, within the folds of her veil. The relief is thus interesting as showing the great importance assigned to Sol and to his incarnation Mithras. On the back is the inscription (C.I.L. vi. 1204) held by two Victories; on the side a senatorial procession and the animals of the *Suovetaurilia*. The curious flattened relief and the deep grooves produce a remarkable black-and-white effect, to the exclusion of intermediate shadows.

§ 7. *Constantine the Great* (306–337)—*His Buildings in Rome—His Arch*.—In Rome he began by rededicating in his own name

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many of the buildings of the unfortunate Maxentius. The most notable is the famous Basilica, which now received its second entrance on the long side bordering the Forum. In a sense the unity of the basilican plan was destroyed by this addition; yet it cannot be denied that the monumental entrance must have brought the Basilica into harmony with the adjoining buildings of the Forum and broken the monotony of the Basilica's long line on the Via Sacra.

The celebrated arch which bears the name of Constantine (Fig. 530) is the most important monument of his Principate in Rome. It was set up to commemorate his victory over Maxentius, and the inscription, the most momentous in Western history, records in veiled words the triumph of Christianity. The effect produced by the arch and its



FIG. 530.—ARCH OF CONSTANTINE,  
W. SIDE.

decorations as a whole is one of perfect harmony of parts and design, yet the reliefs of the archway and of the attic were taken from Trajanic and Aurelian monuments, while the *tondi* or circular medallions that decorate the north and south faces had belonged to some Hadrianic building (p. 101). On the shorter ends this series of eight medallions was completed by two more of Constantinian date, representing on the north side the rising sun, on the south the setting moon—fitting emblems, since the Principate of Constantine, like that of Augustus, heralded a new era. Above the medallions ran the narrow frieze which commemorated the battles by which Constantine made himself master of the Empire and the pageants and festivities that followed on his victory.



FIG. 531.—ARCH OF CONSTANTINE, FRIEZE OF S. SIDE. (BATTLE OF MILVIAN BRIDGE.)

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The battle scenes on the south side of the arch represent on the right the siege of Verona, on the left the battle of the Milvian Bridge (Fig. 531), and seem by the same hand as the friezes on the east and west, which represent the triumphal pageant: (a) the procession and (b) the entrance of the Emperor, who each time appears in a chariot drawn by horses (Fig. 532). The two friezes of the north face, on the other hand, representing an Imperial proclamation, and a *Congiarium* or distribution of bread, are by another artist (Fig. 517). But this is no proof of a difference of date, or that the Emperors honoured are not the same, as some scholars suggest; since similar difference of technique and conception may also be noticed in the arch of Saloniki. In all the six slabs the Emperor's head had been knocked off in antiquity, perhaps at the bidding of some pagan reactionary; we may compare the similar



FIG. 532.—ARCH OF CONSTANTINE, PROCESSION OF THE EMPEROR.

mutilation of the portrait of Diocletian, noted persecutor of the Christians, on the Arch of Galerius at Saloniki. These friezes are of great importance for Christian art. It has been well remarked, for instance, that the "Battle of the Milvian Bridge" influenced the composition on Christian sarcophagi of the Israelites crossing the Red Sea—a subject which, in its turn, came to be looked on as symbolic of the victory of Constantine over Maxentius; in other words, of the definitive triumph of Christianity.

In the one, as in the other series of friezes, we have two different methods of composition employed side by side: one, adapted to a frieze, deploys the action along the surface, exhibiting animation and expressive movement; the other (on the Colosseum side) presents personages frontally, arranges them stiffly, aims at effects of depth by means of strong contrasts of light and dark, and exhibits that love of frontality and that sense of well-ordered if monotonous grouping which is characteristic of later Imperial art. We say monotonous, but the identical gestures of the personages acclaiming the Emperor on the *congiarium* add to the solemnity of the scene and concentrate attention on the central figure.



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The magnificent groups and figures carved on the bases of the columns mark an advance upon the sculpture of the Diocletianic base in the Forum. On the north side each of the four pilasters exhibits a Victory on its front face (Fig. 533); on the return faces are groups of Roman soldiers or of conquered barbarians. In the groups of barbarians, pagan pathos has given place to Christian pity—a new emotion, unknown to ancient art, informs them (Fig. 534) and makes these reliefs true precursors of mediæval sculptures. Magnificent also are the Victories and Seasons in the spandrels of the central arch, and the river-gods over the side archways. It is incredible that a distinguished American writer should hold “the art of the Arch called Constantine’s unworthy even of the Middle Ages.”

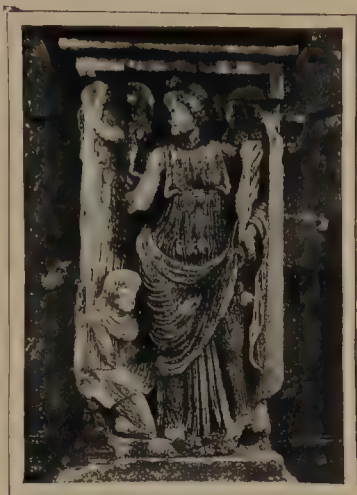


FIG. 533.—VICTORY FROM ARCH OF CONSTANTINE.

§ 8. *The Thermæ of Constantine and of Helena—Palaces, Tombs, Arches.*—Though after 328, the Emperor’s energies were largely directed to the embellishment of his new capital on the Bosphorus, Rome continues throughout his Principate to afford magnificent examples of art and architecture.

On the *alta Semita*, almost exactly opposite Caracalla’s Temple of Serapis, under the modern Palazzo Rospigliosi, rose the Thermæ which must have been one of Constantine’s greatest building enterprises, unless indeed it was, as some maintain, merely an enlargement and transformation of Thermæ constructed by one or other of his predecessors. The Dioscuri of Monte Cavallo stood, it is thought, at the entrance of these Thermæ, in which also were the statue of Constantine, since transferred to the Lateran, and another one of himself



FIG. 534.—FAMILY OF CAPTIVE BARBARIANS. ARCH OF CONSTANTINE.

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and one of his son Constantius, now on the balustrade of the Capitol (C.I.L., vi. 1149, 1150). Thermæ are likewise attributed to Helena, mother of Constantine, who probably merely restored them after a fire (C.I.L., vi. 1136); they may have been attached to the Sessorium, an Antonine (?) palace, which had become the residence of Helena. One hall of this palace was converted by Constantine into the church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, while a second one, with its tall apse, is still standing.



FIG. 535.—TOMB OF HELENA, VIA LABICANA.

seat of the famous Christian basilica and its adjoining Papal residence—was as yet a private mansion belonging to the Imperial family, doubtless sumptuously decorated, for here have been discovered from time to time precious remains of painting and sculpture, including a series of figures of attendants clad in ritual garments

and carrying viands for a sacred banquet—now in Naples—and the stately Roma, Barberini (below, Fig. 581).

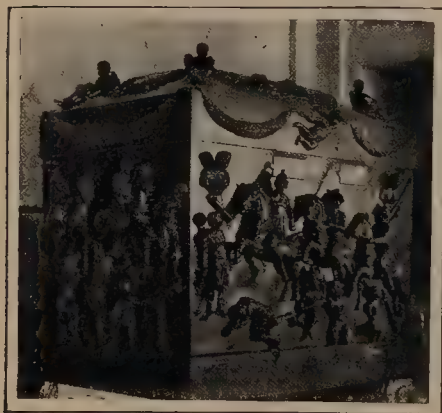


FIG. 536.—SARCOPHAGUS OF HELENA.  
(Vatican.)

The tombs of the two first Christian princesses, of the Empress Helena, mother of Constantine, and of his daughter Constantia—or more correctly Constantina—show further developments of circular construction. The building which can almost certainly be identified as the tomb of Helena stands to the left of the Via Labicana, outside the walls, some three km. from the Porta Maggiore

(Fig. 535). Circular outside, its internal plan is octagonal, each of the eight walls being broken by a deep niche for statues. The

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roof was domical, and from the amphoræ or potsherds (*pignatte*) introduced to lighten the construction is derived the modern name of Torre Pignattara by which the tomb is known. It seems probable that the Mausoleum on the Via Labicana was in reality planned by Helena's husband Constantius, who was buried there by her side, though being a pagan his name was gradually suppressed, that the tomb might be invested with a peculiar sanctity as the resting-place of the Christian mother of the first Christian Emperor. It is probable also that the gorgeous sarcophagus found here and removed to the Vatican (Fig. 536) was intended for Constantius and

Helena. It is porphyry as befits the wearer of the Imperial purple; its main decoration consists of the traditional representations of *decursiones* or cavalry evolutions that took place on the occasion of Imperial funerals, and of the sacrifice of barbarians. On the front are the heads (restored) of an Emperor and Empress.

By setting a dome similar to that of the Mausoleum of Helena above an open arcade, and surrounding the whole by a vaulted aisle, the plan was altered to the "aisled rotunda of Santa Costanza," where a first definite effort to make the dome emerge and become an exterior feature becomes apparent (Fig. 537). Constantine himself must have dreamt at one time of being buried in Rome, and it may be that we should follow Rivoira in recognizing in Santa Costanza a mausoleum built not for either his daughter or his sister—comparatively unimportant personages—but for the Emperor himself. The vaulted ceiling of the aisles is decorated with mosaics—delicate allegorical compositions of love-gods clambering among



FIG. 537.—TOMB OF CONSTANTINA  
(S. COSTANZA).



FIG. 538.—SARCOPHAGUS OF CONSTANTINA.  
(Vatican.)



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branching vines, in allusion to the vineyard of the Lord. The sarcophagus in which the body of the Emperor should have lain was, like that of Helena, removed from the sepulchral chamber to the Vatican (Fig. 538). The remarkable decoration of love-gods gathering the vintage and pressing the grapes recalls, with an added touch of severity imparted by the frontal pose of the figures, the motives of the mosaics of the aisles. With these round tombs we must reckon the so-called Tomba della Tosse, a circular building adorned with four curved and four rectangular niches, in the neighbourhood of Tivoli. It is generally identified as the mausoleum



FIG. 539.—ARCH WITH FOUR ENTRANCES.  
(Velabrum.)

of the Turcii family, set up during the Principate of Constantius II (337-361) by L. Turcius Apronianus.

To the period of Constantine likewise belongs the remarkable quadrifrontal archway in the Velabrum, falsely known as a Janus arch (Fig. 539). It is a regular *tetrapylon*; its square plan with an archway on each of the four sides is comparable to that of the Arch of Marcus Aurelius at Tripoli (above, p. 134), to other

examples to be seen at Vienne in France and at Tebessa in N. Africa, and to the Arch of Malborghetto, near Rome, recently shown to be of Constantinian date. Like that of the Mausoleum of Helena, the roof is lightened by the introduction of *pignatte* or rough amphoræ; this constructional device confirms the Constantinian date, and we may accept the recent identification of this monument as the *arcus Constantini* erected between the Velabrum and the Forum Boarium, presumably to afford shelter to the dealers and merchants of the cattle market. The pylons of the arch were decorated with a system of niches; on the keystones were carved figures of gods; and above the roof rose a pyramidal construction which, though altered in the Middle Ages when the arch became the property of the Frangipani, was only finally destroyed in 1827.

In 330 Constantine definitely shifted the centre of government from the old Rome on the Tiber to the new Rome on the Bosphorus, tracing the city walls of his new capital to give it official consecration, though, as we have seen (p. 165), Constantinople, as it was called, had already been transformed into a Roman city by Septimius Severus more than a century before. The new Rome was gradually



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adorned with a crowd of monuments that vividly recorded the mother-city. (Obelisk of Theodosius, 390: columns of Theodosius and Arcadius, in the style of that of Marcus Aurelius: pillar of the Emperor Marcian.) It is sometimes said that Constantine, now a Christian, moved the seat of power from Rome in order to free himself from the long tradition of paganism imposed by the older city. Possibly too, Ilium, that ancient Troy of which the Romans had ever held themselves the sons, exerted once again its perennial attraction and tempted Constantine to found a capital near to the legendary home of the race, which should arouse memories of Trojan and Roman kinship. Thus Constantine, while adopting the religion that was to transform the Empire, was at the same time strengthening the links between Rome and her remote past.

§ 9. *From Constantine to Justinian: from Paganism to Christianity.*—In spite of wars and the divided interests of the capitals, Rome was still treated by her rulers with filial care. The splendid colonnade of the Porticus Maximæ (C.I.L. vi., 1184), extending from the Theatre of Balbus to near the little church of S. Celso by the Bridge of Hadrian, was erected in the Principates of Gratian, Valentinian and Theodosius, and ended in a triumphal arch put up somewhat later to commemorate the victory of Stilicho at Pollentia in A.D. 402, under Honorius. The arch was of brick completely reveted with marble and adorned with the Imperial chariot group. Private citizens also were munificent in their benefactions. As late as 367, Vettius Prætextatus, Prefect of the city, rebuilt the Porticus of the Di Consentes—originally a Flavian reconstruction of perhaps an earlier building—thus honouring the ancient gods in the days of Christianity, as recorded on the architrave (C.I.L. vi., 102). Some of the cipollino capitals of the building are *in situ*, and one—the best preserved—is in the Tabularium. They are in the form of trophies, a later development of the fantastic forms which from the first century onwards tend to displace the foliations of the true Corinthian capital.

The great Spanish Emperor Theodosius leaves unfortunately little mark on the monuments, but various votive offerings existed, put up in the name of his famous general Stilicho, whose victory at Pollentia under Honorius was commemorated in the triumphal arch already mentioned. In the Forum stands the base of an earlier equestrian statue which was rededicated in his honour as conqueror of Gildo, and hard by a chariot group, set up in honour of his African victories, recorded the names of the reigning Emperors Arcadius and Honorius (393–395).

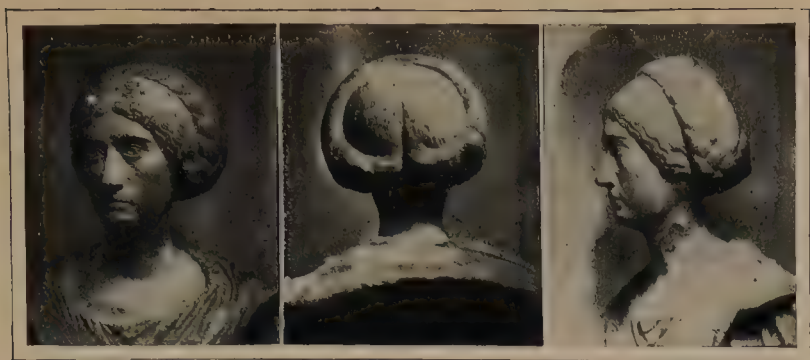
It is usual to label as debased every monument of the latter Emperor, whose effigy is so well known from the ivory diptych at

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Aosta (Fig. 560). But to Honorius (395–423) belongs the merit of having been the last Emperor to plan, and to some extent carry out, a thorough restoration of the earlier monuments now falling to decay. He restored the Basilica Æmilia in the form in which it is familiar in many drawings of the Renaissance; he repaired the walls of Aurelian, and added to their towers the spreading base that makes them so picturesque. One last monument links Honorius with the past of Rome: namely, the great circular tomb in the form typical of the Roman mausolea, which he built for his wife Maria, the daughter of Stilicho. In 757 this tomb became the church of Sta. Petronilla, and was only destroyed in 1544 to make room for the present sacristy of St. Peter's. In it were found the bones of the empress, much jewellery, five agate goblets, and fragments of the golden threads of the embroidered robe, enough to produce, when melted, 40 lbs. of gold. With the Mausoleum of this Imperial lady, the circular building, whose development may be traced since its earliest appearance as the *capanna* of the primitive Italic settlements, passes into the service of Christianity, and its later fortunes belong to another inquiry.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

[See at end of Chapter XIX]



[Photo. Delbrueck.]

FIG. 540.—PORTRAIT OF ROMAN LADY.

## CHAPTER XIX

### SCULPTURE AND PAINTING AFTER CONSTANTINE— IMPERIAL AND OTHER PORTRAITURE—THE MINOR ARTS—THE AFTERMATH.

§ 1. *Sculpture, its character and decline—Sarcophagi.*—The friezes of the Arch of Constantine are the last example of monumental sculpture in Rome. In the Græco-Orient the carving of figures, scenes and groups for the decoration of buildings lasted longer, though after the Arch of Saloniki (p. 175) and the fragment from Nicomedia (p. 176) we practically know of no instance till we come to the great storied columns of Constantinople (p. 185), and these, alas, have vanished. For the decline of sculpture after the fourth century many reasons are adduced. One, untenable for Rome and Italy, is that figure sculpture was suppressed—"suffocated" is the word often used—by the purely ornamental motives of Eastern art—its foliage, tendrils and arabesques. The proofs of any such suppression are lacking outside the East itself. It is also said that after 313 and the Edict of Milan, the Church, now dominant, showed itself hostile to sculpture, to tactile form and the corporeal image. There is probably some truth in this, but another consideration of a more material kind must be borne in mind. The Christian churches which, after the promulgation of the Peace of the Church, rose in Rome and throughout the Empire demanded an interior decoration to accompany the liturgy and the ceremonies that enfolded their splendour within the sacred edifices instead of outside them, as with Pagan ritual. Painting was extensively employed, and even more so mosaic—an admirably decorative medium, since it partakes of

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the nature of both painting and sculpture and combines the brilliancy of colour with the sharp outlines of stone carving. Mosaic came to be used in time for exterior decoration also, and sculpture did not recover its place as a decorative element till the Middle Ages, and at first only North of the Alps.

§ 2. *Sarcophagi*.—Sarcophagi, of which great numbers have been preserved, continued, however, to be carved with a profusion of figures. The niche and column sarcophagi remain popular, but are taken over by Christian art. They now mostly have two superposed rows of niches, a scheme which, however it arose, admits of the many figures or groups illustrative of the rich Biblical material that now imperatively called for expression. A celebrated example is the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus († Aug. 25, 359), made for the primitive Vatican basilica and still in the crypt of the new church. The front is decorated with two superposed rows of five niches; the "Vintage" and "Harvest" scenes of the sides represent in Pagan fashion the recurrence of the seasons and the passing of time, but with a new allusion to the Wine and Bread of the Eucharistic Mysteries.



FIG. 541.—CAPITAL IN GIARDINO DELLA PIGNA.  
(Vatican.)

the Giardino della Pigna of the Vatican (Fig. 541). The volutes are practically hidden by a group of figures in high relief: a victorious athlete, nude, holding the palm branch, with two draped men on either side. All four sides were similarly adorned, though three are now much dilapidated. As decoration it is an impressive piece, the strongly centralized composition of each group showing dependence on later Imperial art. The build of the athletes, their round heads and heavy features, recall the athletes of the mosaics from the Thermæ of Caracalla (Fig. 478), which are generally attributed to this late date.

§ 3. *Portraiture*.—The portraiture of no epoch has been more carefully studied than that of the third century and after. In its startling innovations it bears witness to the vitality of the



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artistic impulse at a period commonly considered decadent. A bearded head in the Capitol of late third-century type, sometimes called Diocletian, has lately been identified as Aurelian's gallant general and successor, the Emperor Probus (Fig. 542). The square construction imparts to this head a massive monumentality which is tempered by the expressiveness of eyes and mouth. Two colossal statues, sometimes considered apocryphal, were set up at their native Interamna (Terni) to the aged Emperor Tacitus (275-276) and his brother Florianus, but appear to have been soon destroyed. On the other hand, in the portrait in the Conservatori (B.S.R. II, p. 76, 5) thought to be that of Carinus (283-284), a more naturalistic mood prevails. Portraits of Diocletian or of his colleagues are hard to identify, though the features of the first are well known from his splendid coinage. His effigy seems also preserved in the medallion of the frieze in the Mausoleum of Spalato, though on the Arch of Galerius it was defaced, it is said, by the Christians whom he had persecuted. A fine gold medallion represents the ill-fated son of his co-regent Maxentius, and has on its reverse the head of the young Romulus, Rome's last *Divus* (Fig. 543). A fine portrait of about this date or a little later, of a clean shaven middle-aged man, in the Terme (Fig. 544), has not as yet been satisfactorily identified.

The statue of Constantine in the vestibule of the Lateran (Fig. 545) and the statues of the same Emperor and of one of his sons on the balustrade of the Capitol show the monumental



[Photo. Delbrueck.

FIG. 542.—HEAD OF PROBUS(?).  
(Capitol.)



FIG. 543.—MAXENTIUS AND HIS SON ROMULUS.  
GOLD MEDALLION.

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effect imparted to portraits by the frontal pose which became universal at this date. In the Lateran statue, the gesture of command which it has in common with the statue of Augustus from Prima Porta has crystallized; it is a new architectonic conception of the body as well as of the head. The colossal statue of Constantine in the apse of the Basilica Nova, the head and extremities of which are in the courtyard of the Conservatori (Fig. 546), was apparently seated, and, to judge from the head, was a masterpiece of the first rank.

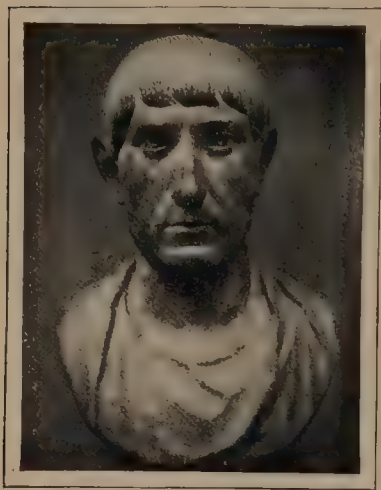


FIG. 544.—PORTRAIT OF 4TH CENTURY DATE.  
(Terme.)

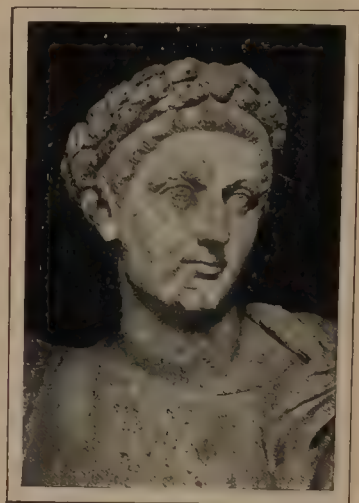


FIG. 545.—CONSTANTINE.  
(Lateran.)

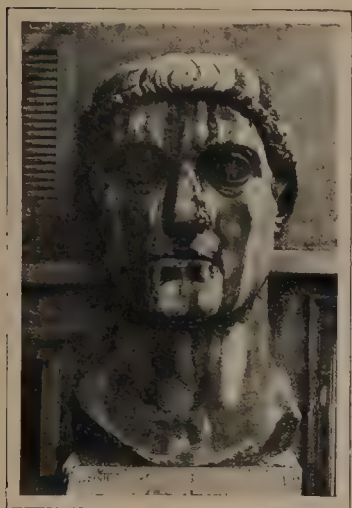
"It expresses a new type, a new attitude, as significant for its time as was, for an earlier age, the lion-like head with uplifted gaze of Alexander the Great. The movement, the restlessness, the fleeting character, in short the naturalism of the third century, have vanished and given place to something grave, unapproachable and fixed. What survives of the plastic element serves merely as a foil for the despotic power and dignity concentrated in the wide-open eyes that gaze with overwhelming intensity into unending space, superbly unaware of the rest of humanity."—G. VON KASCHNITZ.

The colossal bronze head, also in the Conservatori, of one of the sons of Constantine, probably Constantius II, has the same architectonic strength (Fig. 547), and so has the magnificent bronze of Constantine himself in the Museum of Belgrade, found at his birth-place Naïssus. We find the same abstracted majesty in certain papal portraits of the Middle Ages, that of Innocent III, for instance, in

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the well-known mosaic, or that of Boniface VIII. When we look at these images of majesty, from which every human emotion and even physical peculiarity are banished, we are reminded of the description given by Ammianus of Constantius II on the day of this Emperor's memorable entry into the *Urbs* (A.D. 356).

"Though saluted as Augustus, while the whole region re-echoed to the thunderous applause . . . he never as much as moved a muscle, but his countenance remained unchanged, and *as if his neck were fixed, he gazed straight in front of him*, looking neither to left nor right; like a statue, even when the wheels of his chariot shook him, he never moved his head or hands, nor was he observed to spit or to rub his nose or mouth or to wipe them. . . ."—*AMM. MARCELL.*, XVI, 10, 10 (trans. Grant Showerman).



[Photo. Faraglia.

FIG. 546.—CONSTANTINE.  
(Conservatori.)



[Photo. Faraglia.

FIG. 547.—CONSTANTIUS II.  
(Conservatori.)

Evidently the attitude adopted by the Emperors on these festal occasions strongly affected their portraiture. Of peculiar interest is a group of portraits cut in hard red porphyry. These include the four Emperors known as the tetrarchy (Diocletian and his co-Regents), which adorn a pillar of S. Marco at Venice (*Sc. R. Pl.* LXXIX.); the porphyry statuettes of four Emperors in the Vatican (Kaschnitz, Fig. 8); the imposing bust at Cairo (Fig. 548), thought to be either Galerius or his colleague Maximinus Daza (310–311); and finally the two portraits of the parents of Constantine on their sarcophagus (Fig. 536). Precious stones also continued to be used

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for Imperial portraits; a well-cut bust in onyx at the Cabinet de Médailles in Paris is said to be of Constantine (Fig. 549).

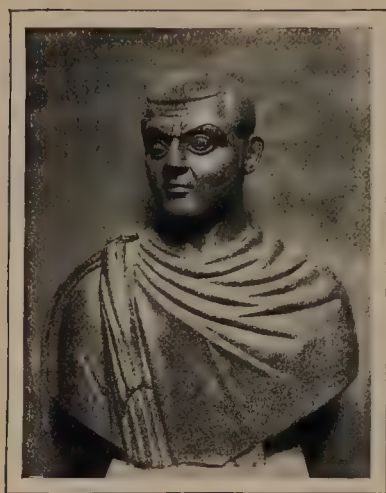


FIG. 548.—BUST AT CAIRO. MAXIMINUS DAZA(?).

Two fine female heads of this period must not be forgotten: one of an aged Empress (perhaps Helena), in Paris (Fig. 550); the other of a middle-aged woman wearing her thick hair in a picturesque plait (Fig. 540).

Of Julian (361–363), last patron of declining antiquity, two portraits, both in Paris, have been identified, on the ground mainly of the beard which Julian, the Roman Emperor who never saw Rome, wore in imitation of the Greek philosophers. Of Valens and Valentinian, the two brothers who in 364 attempted a first partition of the Empire into East and West, we have a portrait in the bronze medallion which shows the two enthroned side by side in

frontal pose, like mediæval saints, and encircled by the proud legend GLORIA ROMANORUM (Fig. 551). The obverse has a fine portrait bust of Valens. On another and larger medallion, in the same collection, the portrait bust of Valens again appears, while the reverse has the



FIG. 549.—ONYX PORTRAIT OF CONSTANTINE.  
(Paris.)



FIG. 550.—HELENA, MOTHER OF CONSTANTINE(?).  
(Louvre.).



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Emperor on horseback with a personified Province doing him homage; the inscription GLORIA ROMANORUM again surrounds the whole (Fig. 552). It is Valentinian I also whom we should recognize, it is thought, in the famous bronze statue of Barletta, so long known as Theodosius (Fig. 553), who himself had his colossal statue in Canosa. The Barletta bronze is a masterpiece that takes rank with the Constantius II of the Conservatori, and seems indeed to issue from the same workshop. The fragments in the Terme of a diademed head found on the site of the Pons Valentinianus (Ponte Sisto), are probably of the portrait of Valens, who with his brother was represented in the chariot group that adorned the triumphal arch of the bridge. To the same group belongs a head of earlier date, now in Boston, and an even earlier draped torso in the Terme (Paribeni 479), that show how old materials might be used up for new compositions. A splendid portrait in the Uffizi (Hekler, 307 *b*) might be Valens or Valentinian; it is certainly near in date to them. The portrait of Theodosius (378–395) is known from the silver disc at Madrid (Fig. 554) and from the stately groups on the basis of the obelisk at Constantinople, where he is seen enthroned amid his family and his court, presiding at the games (Fig. 555).

Somewhat later is a head in the Capitoline Museum with large, open eyes and sensitive mouth, once called Magnus Decentius (Fig. 556). Though from the lack of diadem it cannot at



FIG. 551.—VALENS AND VALENTINIAN. BRONZE MEDALLION.  
(Vienna.)



FIG. 552.—MEDALLION OF VALENS.  
(Vienna.)



[Photo. Delbrueck.]

FIG. 553.—HEAD OF STATUE AT BARLETTA.

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FIG. 554.—THEODOSIUS AND HIS COURT.  
SILVER DISC.  
(Madrid.)



FIG. 555.—BASE OF OBELISK OF  
THEODOSIUS.  
(Constantinople.)

this date be admitted among Imperial portraits, the amazing symmetry of its forms shows the characteristics of the portraiture from Constantine to Theodosius pushed to their utmost limit.

The Dogmatius of the Lateran, a grand togate statue with magnificent bearded head, sharply drawn eyes and mouth, close-cropped hair trimmed to a point on the forehead, is among the finer fourth-century portraits of private individuals (Kaschnitz, Pl. IX.). Two togate statues in the Conservatori of men of consular rank, giving the signal with the *mappa*, also belong to this period. They are now



FIG. 556.—HEAD IN CAPITOL.



FIG. 557.—THEODORA (?).  
(Milan.)

## SCULPTURE AND PAINTING AFTER CONSTANTINE

generally identified as the two Symmachi, father and son, the younger man being one of the protagonists in the famous dispute over the altar of Victory in the year 384, an episode commemorated in an ivory diptych (below Figs. 563, 564). The dress and the arrangement of the folds already have a mediæval touch and resemble the Rufus Probianus of the diptych in Berlin (Fig. 559) or the Felix of another diptych of the year 428 (Fig. 561). Among examples of later female portraiture, an Imperial head in the Conservatori, with replicas at the Lateran and in the Louvre, thought to be the Empress Ariadne, wife first of the Eastern Emperor Zeno (*d.* 491) and afterwards of Anastasius (*d.* 518) takes a foremost rank. It is a magnificently decorative piece in which the features are interpreted in terms of pattern. This impression is heightened by the severe lines of the closely fitting cap that supports the Imperial diadem with its edging of pearls (B.S.R. II, p. 124, Pl. XLIII.). As late as the reign of Justinian (483-565) this school of Roman portraiture produced so subtle and delicate a character study as the head in the Castello of Milan, thought, from its likeness to her portrait in the mosaic of San Vitale, to be that of



FIG. 558.—APOTHEOSIS OF CONSTANTIUS I. LEAF OF DIPTYCH.  
(British Museum.)



FIG. 559.—DIPTYCH OF PROBIANUS.  
(Berlin.)



FIG. 560.—THE EMPEROR HONORIUS.  
DIPTYCH OF ANICIUS PROBUS.  
(Aosta.)



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the circus-girl Theodora, afterwards the trusted wife and counsellor of the Emperor and co-author of the *codex juris civilis* (Fig. 557).

§ 4. *The Ivory Diptychs*.—From the fourth century onwards, ivory diptychs came increasingly into vogue for commemorative purposes; their exquisite decoration affords good examples of carving in an age where monumental sculpture was on the wane. The leaf of a diptych in the British Museum, representing the three acts in the Apotheosis of an Emperor, may be as early as the close of the third century, and refer to the apotheosis of Constantius I, father of Constantine (Fig. 558). Below, the Imperial image is seen on the funeral car drawn by elephants; in the centre the chariot of the Apotheosis bearing the now deified *Princeps* wings its way to the stars; at the top the *Princeps*, having accomplished his transit through the celestial sphere, indicated by the signs of the zodiac, is received by a heavenly host composed of Jupiter between Juno and Minerva and two other gods.

In the spandrel on the right appears the Sun.

Much of the finest portraiture of the later antique is to be found on diptychs. The diptych in Berlin, from the late fourth or early fifth century, of the *vicarius* Probianus shown seated among his clerks, with a tall panel on his right before which are arranged a number of Imperial busts, is in design and execution among the finest of its kind (Fig. 559). The earliest dated diptych in honour of a consul's entrance into office is that of Anicius Probus, of the year 406 (Fig. 560). On it the Emperor Honorius is represented twice: once he holds the sceptre, and once the *labarum* inscribed in



FIG. 561.—LEAF OF DIPTYCH  
OF FELIX.  
(Paris.)



FIG. 562.—DIPTYCH OF BOETHIUS.  
(Brescia.)



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*nomine Xti vinces semper.* Around his head still shines the solar nimbus; but the pose, derived from the ordinary Roman Imperial

statue, has stiffened and hardened. A certain decadence from the classic type soon set in, and neither the diptych of Felix of the year 428 (Paris, Fig. 561) nor that of Boethius, consul in 483 and father of the author of the *Consolatio* (Brescia, Fig. 562), shows the delicate forms of the earlier examples. Boethius is shown raising the *mappa* as signal for the games; and in the later diptychs it becomes usual to re-



FIG. 563.—LEAF OF  
DIPTYCH.  
(London.)



FIG. 564.—LEAF OF DIPTYCH  
(Paris.)

present in a lower compartment some part of the races in the circus.

The wonderful diptych, the two leaves of which are in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Fig. 563) and at Cluny (Fig. 564) respectively, is dated to the close of the fourth century. It preserves the art-forms and a theme derived from the antique by the side of the newer frontal manner. On the Paris leaf, a woman holding two inverted torches stands at an altar under a pine-tree; on the London counterpart a woman throws incense on to an altar under an oaktree; behind the altar a girl attendant holds a dish of fruit in one hand and a two-handled vase in the other. The diptych was once believed to record a marriage alliance



FIG. 565.—DIPTYCH OF POET AND MUSE.  
(Monza.)

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between the two families of the Nicomachi and the Symmachi, but according to a more recent interpretation, it is the memorial of



FIG. 566.—SILVER DISC OF ARTABURIUS.  
(Florence.)

“an agreement between Symmachus and his friend Nicomachus’ to devote themselves to securing the return of the altar of Victory about the year 386, when their antagonist was St. Ambrose.” The two figures in that case symbolize Grief standing before the deserted altar, and Joy rekindling its fires.

Finally, the diptych of the “Poet and the Muse,” at Monza, retains as late as the sixth century a motive well known from the niche and column sarcophagi (Fig. 565). The slowly accumulating evidence is in favour of regarding Syria and Egypt as main centres of production of ivory work, though there can be

little doubt that here, as in the case of textiles and of glass, other centres were gradually established in the West, and especially in Italy. The ivory diptychs can now be conveniently studied in Delbrueck’s magnificent publication.



FIG. 567.—CASKET OF PROJECTA.  
(British Museum.)

§ 5. *Silver Reliefs: Gold, Bronze and Lead Medallions: Jewellery.*—Closely connected with the ivories are the gold and bronze medallions and the reliefs in silver and lead, which have survived in numbers.

Among the medallions is the lead medal in Paris, showing Diocletian and

Maximian enthroned, with a procession of captives advancing towards them, while in the lower half of the medal the soldiers and captives (?) cross a bridge that unites Moguntiacum (Mainz) with the *castellum*. With this splendid composition may be com-

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pared the medal of Constantius Chlorus, found as recently as 1922 near Arras, with the Tower of London, from which issues a suppliant, on the reverse (inscr. Lond.), or the medal of Constantine with the famous gate of Trèves on its reverse. A good example of a silver disc is afforded by the shield at Geneva, showing Valentinian I haranguing his troops (*Apotheosis*, Pl. XIII., 2). The disc of Theodosius has been referred to in connection with his portraiture (Fig. 554). On the later disc of Aspar Artaburius, at Florence, this faithful follower of Theodosius II is shown seated in the curule chair on a platform with his son at his side; above him hang the medallion portraits of the Imperial pair; and at either side stand Roma and Constantinople personified (Fig. 566). These shields continued popular throughout the later Empire; one of the latest examples, found at Kertsch in the Crimea, shows an Emperor, probably Justinian, in gorgeous official apparel, led by Victory and escorted by a guard.

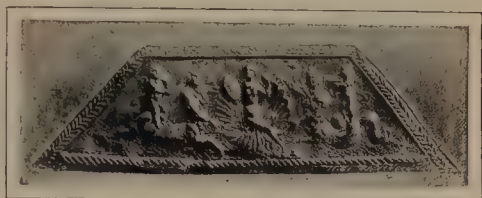


FIG. 568.—LID OF CASKET OF PROJECTA.  
(British Museum.)

The disposition of the figures and technique show strong Byzantine influence, but Byzantine art itself was largely an offshoot of Roman. Wherever the shield was made, or the type that decorates it evolved, the design marks the triumph of the idea imposed upon art by Rome and her Emperor (*Apotheosis*, Pl. I.).

Finally, the embossed design on the marriage-casket of Projecta, in the British Museum, falls within the same order of works of art. It is dated to the end of the fourth century, but invention and design seem as fresh as on contemporary sarcophagi. In the central panel bride and bridegroom are shown frontally within a medallion of myrtle leaves, supported by genii (Fig. 567). Above is the inscription *SECVNDE ET PROJECTA VIVATIS IN CRISTO*, showing the couple to have been Christian, yet on the lid Venus appears in the familiar attitude, seated in a shell held up by Tritons, on whose backs love-gods ride (Fig. 568); on the side panels Nereids ride sea-monsters; on the back, amid picturesque architectural surroundings, is shown the *deductio* or leading away of the bride to her new home—a design well known from sarcophagi. The detail of the casket, the picking-out of jewellery and ornaments in gold, is of singular delicacy. It was part of a "treasure" found in Rome in 1793 on the Esquiline near the church of SS. Silvestro e Martino.



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Among the many other objects included in the same treasure are found silver statuettes (Figs. 569, 570), representing the four chief cities of the Empire, Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria and Antioch; the latter enthroned with her river god beneath her feet in imitation of the earlier group sculptured by a pupil of the Greek Lysippus.

The costumes of the personages on diptychs and silver discs show that jewellery was worn in profusion; if the resources of the Empire were failing, it is evident that luxury was on the



FIGS. 569 and 570.—FOUR SILVER STATUETTES.  
(British Museum.)

increase. The subject is too vast for discussion here, but the delicate pierced work of a gold bracelet in the British Museum shows that craftsmanship and design counted for much in this jewellery, and not precious stones alone (Fig. 571). Roman objects of luxury were also sent to the Provinces; the beautiful *lanx* or tray (probably for ritual purposes), found at Corbridge on the Roman wall, now the property of the Duke of Northumberland, shows a *Sacra Conversazione*: Apollo emerging from his temple, and Diana from her grove, stand on either side of three goddesses (Juno, Minerva and Venus?), while on the lower zone a rustic altar piled with offerings is flanked by the stag and dog of Diana, and by the griffin of Apollo (Fig. 572).



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§ 6. *Painting and Mosaic: Glass-work and Precious Stones: Book Illuminations.*—Wall-painting, and especially mosaic, which was to become the mistress art, as it were, of early Christianity, were in the ascendant and tended to displace sculptured relief as decoration. Among the wall-paintings, those in the tomb of Trebius Justus, surnamed Asellus, according to the inscription of the close of the third century, discovered a few years ago on the Via Latina, are significant. On the principal wall Trebius Justus is represented three times. Within an arcosolium he is shown frontally, seated at a table, surrounded by books and writing materials. Above, he appears again, standing on a footstool between a man and a woman who may be his father and mother, and who hold out in front of him a ritual napkin with embroidered border, upon which are a chalice and what appear to be loaves. On the lower frieze we see Trebius Justus once more, surrounded by servitors who seem to be working the soil or gathering in country produce. The large painting on one of the sides depicts the construction apparently of a city wall of brick: one man stands on a scaffolding, one climbs a ladder, a third brings up building material. This possibly refers to the building of the walls under Aurelian, and the father of Trebius Justus may have been an engineer who had made his fortune through being employed in the enterprise. That the painting is Christian is evident from the ritual scene above the arcosolium and from the picture of the Christian Good Shepherd in the centre of the ceiling.

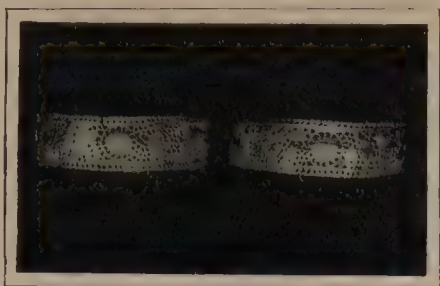


FIG. 571.—BRACELET OF PIERCED GOLD.  
(British Museum.)



FIG. 572.—THE CORBRIDGE LANX.  
(Alnwick.)

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The frontal picture of Epona between her horses, from the Circus of Maxentius, another datable painting, is now destroyed and is only known to us from engravings (Fig. 573).



FIG. 573.—EPONA ENTHRONED. PAINTING FROM CIRCUS OF MAXENTIUS.

Frontality in this later art attained a degree of expressiveness which it had lacked in archaic Greek art. As examples I may quote three of the four extant panels of the splendid wall-mosaic in *opus sectile* that once adorned the basilica erected for the public benefit by Junius Bassus, on the site of the later church and hospital of Sant' Antonio,

near Santa Maria Maggiore. In the vigorous groups, one of a tigress devouring a young bull or buffalo (B.S.R. II), and a second one, of a tigress seizing a heifer, the conventional colouring adds an archaic touch to the general effect (Fig. 574). The tigress' tawny skin is represented realistically by *giallo antico*, but her stripes are in the same green porphyry as the background; the bull and heifer are in different shades of marble varying from cream to brown. Different scales of brown marble are employed for the earth and the tree; the leaves are of white marble, and the whites of the eyes of all the beasts are of mother-of-pearl. On another slab of the same mosaic (in Palazzo del Drago) the



FIG. 574.—TIGRESS AND BULL. *Opus sectile*. (Conservatori.)

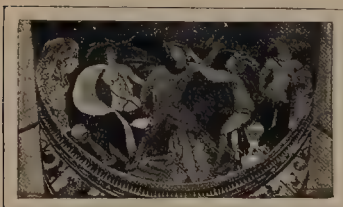


FIG. 575.—HYLAS AND THE NYMPHS. *Opus sectile*. (Palazzo del Drago.)

story of Hylas and the nymphs is shown above a design that simulates a heavy green drapery gathered up at either side. The strongly centralized composition—Hylas with one knee on a rock in the stream, and a nymph at each side pulling him down—is characteristic (Fig. 575). The water and the blue draperies of the nymphs and the reddish cloak



FIG. 576.—THE CONSULAR CHARIOT. *Opus sectile*.  
(Palazzo del Drago.)



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of Hylas are of glass; while the necklaces and bracelets of the nymphs and the little jug held by Hylas are of mother-of-pearl.



FIG. 577.—CUPID ON GOLD CUP.  
(British Museum.)

Colour and sheen are alike exquisite. The most important of these mosaic pictures represents a man of consular rank, perhaps Junius Bassus himself, clad in a richly-embroidered garment, who advances in a chariot decorated with figures in relief, drawn by two white horses (Fig. 576). The horses are symmetrically made to part on either side and disclose the chariot group; the lines of the design are resumed by the horsemen, who, wearing the colours of the circus, display what may be long *cornucopiæ* for the distribution of largess (or are they goats?) In this noble

design, neglected and almost unknown, save to a few antiquaries, Roman art—the style of composition imposed by Rome upon art—touches its apogee. Artists are once more animated by those same ideals of centralization which had inspired archaic art. The colour and the daring insertion of glass to represent the more glittering parts of the mosaic bring to mind the glass-work so beloved in the Rome of the fourth century. Possibly glass was manufac-



FIG. 578.—HUNTING SCENE. CUP IN TERME.

tured in Italy, but its chief provenance was Syria, where glass of the Roman period has been found in great abundance in modern times. The "Cupid with grapes" on a cup of the British Museum (Fig. 577), or the hunting-scene on a cup in the Museo delle Terme, found in Calabria and perhaps of Oriental origin (Fig. 578), are examples of exquisite draughts-

manship. By the side of the Christian portraiture on gold glass, found in profusion in the catacombs, Pagan portraiture of similar character to that of the earlier third



## SCULPTURE AND PAINTING AFTER CONSTANTINE

century, continued in fashion, e.g. the group in the British Museum of a man and his wife, with between them a statuette of Hercules on a pillar (Fig. 579), and the beautiful cup with the group of father, mother and child in the Vatican collection, attributed by Albizzati from the portrait of the woman to a date between Severina, wife of Aurelian, and Magnia Urbica, wife of Carinus. Glass was also worked with portraits in relief, in imitation of cameos. Of this process we have an interesting example in the glass disc of slightly concave shape and pale greenish tint in the Conservatori (Fig. 580).



FIG. 579.—PORTRAITS ON GOLD GLASS.  
(British Museum.)

Book illustration, which probably began much earlier than is generally supposed, though early examples have disappeared, is of great value in recovering the pictorial art of this period. The illuminations of the *Iliad* in the Ambrosian Library at Milan are generally dated to the fourth century, and so are the illustrations to the famous Vatican Vergil (Cod. Vat. Lat. 3225), which seem, however, to reproduce pictures of the Augustan period (p. 34). But the pictures of another MS. of Vergil, likewise of fourth-century date (Cod. Vat. Lat. 3867) appear to be contemporary; on the title-page is the grandiose picture of Jupiter enthroned frontally amid the deities of Olympus, a composition based upon that of the Imperial groups.

### § 7. Imperial Portrait Groups.

Both in painting and mosaic, extensive groups similar to that of Theodosius and his family on the disc in Madrid (Fig. 566) had now become the rule. Of a group of



FIG. 580.—IMPERIAL PORTRAITS ON GLASS DISC.  
(Conservatori.)

Aurelian between the two Tetrici, father and son, painted, it is said, for the palace of Tetricus on the Cœlian, only the tradition has

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survived. We also have the record of a picture in the Palace of Aquileia, representing the families of Maximian and of Constantine



FIG. 581.—THE ROMA BARBERINI.

Chlorus, in which the group of the little Fausta offering a helmet with peacock's feathers to the young Constantine—later to become her husband—was much admired. The group of three Imperial personages on the Conservatori glass disc mentioned above (Fig. 580) has been identified as Diocletian and his colleague Maximianus, with Severus (inscribed), who was presently to be raised to the dignity of Cæsar.

The magnificent image of a seated Roma (Roma Barberini), brilliant in colouring and the rendering of the flesh tints, which was found on the site of the Imperial Palace at the Lateran, has recently been claimed as belonging to a group conjectured to be of Constantine and his sons (Fig. 581). A number of wall paintings found on the same site and now in Naples, representing attendants in gorgeously embroidered and jewelled garments, doubtless also formed part of the wall decoration of the Imperial palace (Fig. 582). The frontal images of Constantius and Constans in the famous manuscript known as the Chronograph of the year 354 are reproduced from some contemporary painting, and afford in their fully frontal attitude a vivid conception of the figures that formed the centre of these Imperial groups. The Calendar, moreover, is elaborately adorned with personifications of the principal cities of the Empire and with figures of the months and of the planets. Its artist was one Philocalus, who signs his name, and is also known as having worked for Pope Damasus (366-384).

The celebrated mosaics, probably the best known in existence, of Justinian and Theodora with their court, on the walls of San Vitale at Ravenna, represent this portrait



FIG. 582.—FIGURE IN RITUAL ATTIRE. WALL-PAINTING FROM LATERAN.

(Naples.)

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art at the highest point of its development. The design is remarkable for its purely pictorial, almost ethereal quality, the figures existing, as it were, in virtue of their colour and scarcely touching the ground, which is not even indicated. But the S. Vitale groups date from the Pontificate of Felix IV (526-530), who had decorated the apse of SS. Cosma e Damiano with the marvellous mosaic of Christ descending the luminous pathway, while symmetrical groups of Saints stand expectant in a flowery meadow watered by a majestic river. The perfect adaptation of Roman forms to the expression of Christian ideas is one of the most astonishing phenomena in the whole history of art. The process of gradual absorption of what was best in the old by the newer and more vigorous may be studied long before SS. Cosma e Damiano, in the paintings of the catacombs or the mosaics of Santa Pudenziana. To pursue the subject would be to trespass beyond the bounds of our domain. Yet Mediæval Christian art never repudiated its debt to this Imperial phase, and nowhere is the fact more strikingly symbolized than in the eighth-century ivory known as the "Cross of Rambona" (Fig. 584), which shows the Cross planted on the mystical Golgotha, below which, as in the hollow of the ancient Lupercal, stands the venerable group of the Wolf and the Twins.



FIG. 583.—MOSAIC IN S. VITALE, RAVENNA.



FIG. 584.—THE CROSS OF RAMBONA.  
(Vatican.)



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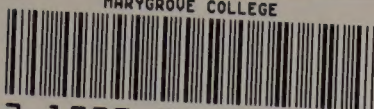


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